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ABSTRACT

A study of self-correction, or repair (the righting of the trouble source) among bilingual secondary students differed from most repair studies in three ways. It: (1) examined results in the form of description rather than in quantifiable analyses; (2) defined errors as trouble sources (hearable errors, breaks in communication such as word searches, and changes made by the speaker when no error was heard) rather than errors in form only; and (3) examined error and repair in peer conversations and in oral tests rather than under experiment conditions. Subjects were grade nine students from late immersion (French study begun in grade seven) and continuing bilingual (French study begun in kindergarten or in grade one) programs. Videotapes of peer interactions among the students were analyzed for evidence of turn-taking and repairs; in addition, the inter-relationship of turn-taking and repairs in different contexts were examined. The analysis, produced a "grammar" of repair and its accomplishment in students' practices. Results corroborate earlier findings of a preference for self-initiated self-repair within the same turn. Students were also found to be clearly proficient in their use of initiator techniques and the placement practices of repair regardless of their years of study or the context of the interaction. (MSE)

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ABSTRACT

Recent studies in the acquisition of first and second languages have focused on the analysis of errors as a means of determining the order of language acquisition, and theories of language learning and psycholinguistics. These studies have used experimental methods and observations for obtaining data. Errors are defined as mistakes in form. Once identified, errors are tabulated, categorized and treated statistically. This facilitates the comparison of learners' errors at different ages and stages of learning as well as from different linguistic backgrounds. Research on correction, often a corollary of error, has concentrated on contexts in which the competent speaker corrects the not-yet-competent speaker, e.g. parent-child, teacher-student, etc.

This study re-examines the phenomena of error and correction. Firstly it expands error to mean trouble source (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks, 1977). Trouble source includes errors, word searches and changes made by the speaker where no error has been heard. Repair is the righting of the trouble source. It subsumes correction or the replacement of an error by a correct form. Secondly, error/repair (the generic term used in the study) is examined *in situ*. Bilingual grade nine students were audio taped for their final oral interview tests. Four groups of three students were then selected from the two programs: late immersion, which begins French in grade seven, and continuing bilingual, which begins in Kindergarten or grade one.

The groups were video taped during a fifteen minute peer conversation. Both sets of tapes (test and conversation) were transcribed and analyzed. The analysis took the form of exhaustive data treatment (Mehan, 1978). By examining the entire course of interaction among participants, the researcher is able to produce a "grammar" or a set of recursive rules. In these data, turn-taking and repairs were of central interest. By examining turn-taking in the different contexts, and its interrelationship with repair, a "grammar" of repair and its contextual accomplishment in student practices was produced. The analysis excluded errors identified by competent speakers of French, but not included in the student repair practices.

Schegloff et al. have described a preference for self-initiated self-repair within the same turn. Our data corroborated these findings. Students were also clearly proficient in their use of initiator techniques and the placement practices of repair regardless of their years of study or the context of the interaction.

I wish to thank Dr. Heyman, my supervisor, for his support, encouragement, and counsel through the work on this study. The study is indebted to him and his commitment to ethnomethodology. My committee members, Dr. A. Boberg, Dr. S. Kurtz and Professor D. Mydlarski, have always been available for assistance and constructive criticism.

To the Elboya staff, in particular Mrs. B. and her students, and the test interviewers, I am particularly grateful. They were open, receptive and supportive throughout the process. I sincerely hope that this study will be of interest to them and that it reflects accurately their thoughts and actions.

During the study I have received financial assistance from the following sources: Government of Alberta Doctoral Fellowship, Alberta Education, Planning and Research (grant) and the Department of Educational Policy and Administrative Studies (G.A.R. and G.A.T. support).

Mrs. Pat Dalgetty has been more than a competent professional typist; her loyalty and kindness were a sustaining comfort especially during the final stages of the study.

Finally I wish to acknowledge my husband, Ernest Enns, my family and many friends whose love and encouragement were essential to my completing the task.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to analyze error and correction in the talk of bilingual students. Our data are from oral tests and peer conversations. We have chosen two situations so as to show that error and correction are embedded in and defined by context. In turn, they define context. Our view of language is a constitutive one. By this we mean that "...participants rely on context to make sense of one another's utterances but context itself is brought into being through the use of language" (French and Woll, 1981:157).

This view of language necessitates that we begin with an understanding of what error is. In an interaction, error is defined by the interlocutors, by corrections which may be undertaken by the speaker or hearer. Thus, as the speaker self-corrects, he attends to errors of meaning or form. Corrections by the hearer(s) often act as ways of clarifying meaning. However, in some contexts, e.g., classrooms, errors are closely monitored and in others, they are not. Thus, error and correction are defined by context and in turn define context.

In constitutive language research, the data are recorded and transcribed talk. These data are analyzed by researchers and participants alike. The knowledge of correct speech which the researcher possesses is held in limbo. The focus is on the accomplishments of the interlocutors.

The study of error in language acquisition has been central to the research on first and second language learning since the early 1970's. However, unlike our view of language, this theoretical work assumes that errors can be identified as stable, and inert entities. They exist independent of context. To explain further, the morpheme, the smallest unit of talk which constitutes a word or a meaningful part of a word, is used as the indicator of error. Thus mistakes in -ING (e.g., I am go, etc.) form a category of errors which can be identified in first language learners and in child and adult second language learners. This category represents a stage in the eventual mastery of a language. Based on categories of errors, theories of language learning have been developed (Burt and Dulay, 1974; Corder, 1978; Fromkin, 1969; Nemser, 1974; Richards, 1972; Selinker, 1972). Comparisons between first and second language learners have also been made to determine if the stages of mastery are the same regardless of language (Bailey, Madden, Krashen, 1978; Burt and Dulay, 1974).

The study of error gained importance due to two advances: one in testing procedures, the other in technology. Tests were developed (Berko, 1958; Brown, 1973; Burt and Dulay, 1974) which claimed to elicit specific answers. For example, "obligatory contexts" were designed so that the student had to use a certain tense or vocabulary item. Repetition of phrases or sentences was also developed as a fool-proof method of determining where a student would make errors. The second advance was the use of the computer to treat results statistically. In general, the theoretical research borrowed heavily from the canons of theoretical, normative sociology. As Mishler (1979) states in his critique of "context-stripping" methods, "Our ideal in theoretical work is the formulation of general laws, laws we hope are universal. The essential feature of such laws is that they be context-independent, free of specific constraints of any particular context and therefore applicable to all" (1979:2). The constitutive approach taken in this study contends that language is context-dependent. Laws which are general and universal are the ideals of theoretical work, not of constitutive language research.

When error occurs in an interactional environment, it may be subject to correction. In the procedures referred to above, the interactional context has been eliminated and so, therefore, has been the consideration of correction. Research on correction looks at various contexts: parent-child (Corsaro, 1978) and teacher-student (Allwright, 1975; Chaudron, 1977; Fanselow, 1977; Holley and King, 1971). The assumption is that the competent speaker, i.e., adult or native speaker, has the right and the obligation to correct the less-than-competent speaker. Kasermann and Foppa (1981) are among the few to study self-correction in 4 to 5 year olds learning their first language. In their view, self-corrections are evidence of knowledge about standards of correctness. Although self-corrections were prompted by the researcher, children were observed to correct in the absence of adult intervention. In spite of its statistical treatment of categorized errors, this research supports the interdependence of language and context.

Recently there have been a number of studies undertaken on the learner's understanding and awareness of errors (Cohen and Robbins, 1977; Krashen and Pon, 1975; Naiman, Frohlica, Stern and Todesco, 1978; Rubin, 1975, Schachter, Tyson and Diffley, 1976). Their research method has been to interview the learners (generally adults) about their learning experiences. Naiman et al. (1978) have extrapolated from questionnaires, autobiographies, and observations to form a model of the "good language learner." However, no data are available to verify if, in fact, the learners had evidence to support their hypothetical responses. This lack of data represents a principled concern for constitutive language research.

The Topic of this Study

These introductory comments serve as a background for the more detailed discussion of the study by outlining two approaches to research on language: the theoretical approach and the constitutive approach. Our emphasis is on the constitutive approach which is an integral part of ethnomethodology. As stated, the purpose of this study is to examine error and correction in two contexts: oral tests and peer conversations.

Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) broadened the term error to indicate "trouble source." "Trouble source" is a generalization or a gloss which includes hearable errors (mistakes in grammar, syntax, vocabulary, etc.) and breaks in communication such as word searches. A trouble source may not be heard at all. The speaker, aware of **what** and **how** he wants to state his message, may re-order or repair errors without giving any indication of what was re-ordered, repaired, etc. The term "correction" or replacement of an error, does not sufficiently cover the righting of a trouble source. Schegloff et al. use the term "repair" to describe the work done on a trouble source. Correction is a category of repair. Unless we are referring to correction as the replacement of an error, we will use "error/repair" as the term covering trouble source/repair.

The conversational analysis undertaken by Schegloff et al. on error/repair has the "twin features of being context-free and capable of extraordinary context-sensitivity" (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974:699 fn. 8). The context-free features of error/repair include organizational features such as where error/repair is found in turn-taking and how and by whom correction is initiated, etc. Both placement and initiated techniques differ according to whether the repair is initiated by the speaker, i.e., self or the hearer, i.e., the other. Self-repair is preferred to other-repair in their data. In some contexts, however, other-repair is more frequent. They specify the parent-child interaction and suggest that "[other repair] may well be more relevant to the not-yet-competent domain without respect to age" (1974:381). It is this context-sensitive aspect of repair that we will emphasize in our analyses.

Context is, in principle, indeterminant. However, for the purposes of this thesis, we will use turn-taking, the "simplest systematics of conversation" (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974) as one of the principled ways in which context is hearable. For example, in the Oral Test turn-taking is pre-allocated. The turn-taking is accomplished by adjacency pairs, e.g., question/answer. The peer conversations differ radically. Competition for turn-taking can be fierce. Although question/answer is used to distribute turns, it is not the only - nor principal - way of accomplishing turns.

We will also identify some "formal structures" (Garfinkel and Sacks, 1970) of talk. They are strategies for ensuring that meaning is mutually understood. For example, preformulators (French and Machure, 1979) are strategies which establish a shared experience and a criterion of appropriateness for participants. Cook-Gumperz (1975), in her study, uses a formal structure to indicate the shift of relevances. She refers to "foreground" to indicate the focus of attention of the speaker, e.g., the rule of not speaking out. This rule may be "backgrounded" in another situation where safety may depend upon a person speaking out.

In placing the constitutive view of language as central to our task, we have necessarily challenged the view of the actor implicit in some normative sociological research. Mehan and Wood (1975) state that "[t]he normative theory of action employs three core concepts: actors, rules, and situations. It is assumed that *actors* know and follow *rules* in *social situations*. Rules are assumed to exist independently of actors and situations" (1975:74, original emphasis). He goes on to explain that actors are thought to enter situations, define them, recognize the appropriate rules and apply them (p. 75). The actor need only a sort of matching procedure. Ethnomethodology claims that actors, rules, and situations "intertwined... *constitute* the situation" (1975:75, original emphasis). To study rule use, ethnomethodologists have chosen legal and education settings where the rules are codified. Their studies have documented the "essential incompleteness" of rules in every day use. The application of rules depends upon the judgement of the actor, or as Mehan and Wood (1975) call him, "the reality constructor" or the "member" (Garfinkel and Sacks, 1970).

"Member" refers to the mastery of natural language (Garfinkel and Sacks, 1970) which allows people to participate in the social world and also to be active in its construction. Coulter (1979) refers to "a range of socially-required skills" and "a system of rights, obligations, and sanctions" (1979:22). Any person knowing a natural language has also required the knowledge of *when* to speak, *how* and *to whom* to speak, etc. In effect it allows him[1] to conduct an overwhelming number of daily events in and through *speaking* without experiencing the ambiguity of language and without disturbing the social order. He relies on this knowledge to make sense of utterances and to construct the context of his own speech. As we stated, rules are not applied but constructed in and through context. As Mehan and Wood (1975) state, *all* utterances, and they include grammatical rules, are "filled" in by context. The "human actor" assesses the situation, applies pieces of knowledge and rules as he deems them *appropriate* (Leiter, 1980:11). He is a constructor of reality. The second language speaker is no exception. He pays attention not only to the idealized rules of grammar. He may foreground these rules in some circumstances, and meaning in others. He does not however lose sight of the fact that "speech and its associated paralinguistic features *create the grounds for their own understanding*" (Cook-Gumperz, 1975:156, original emphasis). For example, he never assumes that using a singular form will be understood as a plural. He can be heard to correct these forms consistently.

In summary, we propose to re-examine the meaning of error/repair as it is determined by context and as it influences context. We will analyze the practices of students and interviewers to see *how* meaning and context are mutually elaborated.

Key Research Questions

1.1 How can the context of the test be heard in terms of
  a) turn-taking
  b) participant structures
  c) "foregrounded" features.

1.2 How can the context of the test be heard to influence
  a) self-initiated self-repair
  b) self-initiated other-repair

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[1] We would like to draw the reader's attention to the generic use of "he" in the body of this study. The feminine forms will be used only when the referent is female.

- c) other-initiated self-repair
- d) other-initiated other-repair
- e) the nature of the trouble source.

2.1 How can the context of peer conversations be heard in terms of
- a) turn-taking
- b) participant structures
- c) "foregrounded" features.

2.2 How can the context of peer conversations be heard to effect
- a) self-initiated self-repair
- b) self-initiated other-repair
- c) other-initiated self-repair
- d) other-initiated other-repair
- e) the nature of the trouble source.

3.1 Is there a hearable difference in the error/repair of late immersion and continuing bilingual students in the test situation?

3.2 Is there a hearable difference in the error/repair of late immersion and continuing bilingual students in peer conversation?

4.1 In the mixed group does the continuing bilingual student "other repair" more frequently than the late immersion student, i.e. can he be heard to be more "competent"?

Research Approach

This study was undertaken with the co-operation of the Second Languages Department and Elboya Junior High School of the Calgary Board of Education. Mrs. B., curriculum leader at Elboya, was very helpful in selecting students and, later, in transcribing tapes.

The students who participated in the study are all in grade nine in a bilingual program. For the purposes of this study, "bilingual" designates a student or program for which approximately 60% of daily instruction is in French. There are two groups of students: "late immersion" who began the bilingual program in grade seven and "continuing bilingual" who began in Kindergarten or grade one. After the oral test, students were placed in groups of three: two late immersion groups, one continuing bilingual and one mixed group (two late immersion and one continuing bilingual student). The contexts varied according to turn-taking and also according to membership. Our rationale was to see how error/repair was influenced by the number of years of French a student has taken and by the presence of an adult native speaker (the interviewer).

Once the tapes were transcribed, they were analyzed to determine *how* turn-taking varied and *how* the realities of student/student and student/interviewer interactions could be heard to influence and be influenced by turn-taking. We then examined the context-free features of error/repair to locate placement and initiate practices. Finally we endeavoured to assess *how* the contextual features influence the members' practices of error/repair.

Conclusion

As we have stated, the purpose of this study is to examine error and self- and other-repair in the *talk* of bilingual students. As such it represents a substantive, theoretical and methodological re-examination of the field of error analysis. We propose a radical departure from the theoretical mode of research described in error analysis. The social world of that research is stable, discrete, and "out there" to be discovered. In its place we postulate ethnomethodology which views the social world as the on-going accomplishment of its members through interactional use of every day language. We will examine the meaning of error and correction in context. Mishler (1979) states that "[in] ethnomethodology, the distinction between subject and context is dissolved. Meaning is always in contexts and contexts incorporate meaning. *Both are produced by human actors through their actions*" (1979:14, emphasis added). The errors produced in experimental situations are stripped of their context and, therefore, their interactional meaning. Our emphasis will be to show that error/repair and context are interdependent and mutually elaborative. To accomplish this, we will analyze the talk of bilingual students on oral tests and in peer conversations. All the data are recoverable, i.e. they are on video and/or audio tapes and have been transcribed. Our analyses are not quantified or quantifiable. They are based on conversational analysis which demonstrates the methods used by participants to create and sustain meaning in context. Our "results" will take the form of description (Heap, 1980).

Key Assumptions

1) Members encounter social reality as factual and objective. However it is the product of an on-going process of members' interactional use of every day language.

2) Language is essentially vague and ambiguous. Members rely on context to make sense of one another's utterances and use language to construct context.

3) Meaning is not experienced as problematic. This is due to context, transcontextual features and the use of common-sense knowledges.

4) To analyze *how* members create social reality, ethnomethodology turns to the machinery of talk as described by conversational analysis.

5) Error/repair can be located as part of the "context-free and context-sensitive" machinery of talk.

Limitations

1) Our analyses are limited to the errors of students which are repaired. It does not deal with candidate errors which we hear and which the students do not "repair."

2) Error/repair as it occurs in the talk of the interviewer is not analyzed.

3) Our focus is on members' practices of error/repair as we hear them in their talk. We are not concerned with the projected native speaker standard of correctness or with hypothesizing about the reasons for error/repair.

4) Our results are reported in the form of descriptions based on segments of talk. We are aware of, and encourage the reader to consider, the relations of our descriptions to the data. A careful assessment of the segments of talk will, hopefully, support our analyses.

5) Parts of this study cannot be replicated in the strict scientific sense of the word. The unique features of the interaction between members are not replicable. The context-free features of error/repair however have already been examined in the works of Moerman (1974), Schwartz (1974) and Gaskill (1974). We are investigating their re-occurrence in the talk of bilingual studies. Future research in members' practices may find their re-occurrence in other social situations and transculturally.

Summary of Chapters in this Study

The following summaries are included at this point to suggest to the reader a framework for his reading.

Chapter Two

Firstly, this chapter presents a summary of the principles of normative sociological research and locates the studies of error analysis wihthin its parameters. The development of error analysis is both substantive and historical. Secondly the "parti pris" of the study, ethnomethodology, is discussed with particular emphasis on its conceptual claims about every day language and common-sense knowledge. We emphasize that the purpose of this study is to present descriptive evidence to support these conceptual claims. Finally, a rationale and a description of conversational analysis as the methodology to be used in the data is given.

Chapter Three

This chapter provides an ethnographic background for the school and its community, a brief, historical perspective on Canadian bilingualism, and an account of the embeddedness of bilingual education in the practices of educators, parents, and students. Lastly, it gives insight into the process of change that occurred with the analysis of the data of the pilot project. The reality of the students' correction practices forced us to abandon our second language educator's stand, namely that of being the sole arbitrator of correct language use. We came to know *how* students exercise the right to self- and other-correct and to make their methods central to this study.

Chapter Four

This chapter exposes the contributions of the pilot study to the conceptual bases and the procedures of this study. It answers the major questions regarding the collection of data and their analysis.

Chapter Five

Samples of transcripts are presented to illustrate the contextual nature of error/repair as well as its context-free structure. Our emphasis is on the methods used by students and/or interviewers to repair student errors. We have, for this reason, considered only those errors which were repaired. We have not analyzed the errors which can be recognized in student talk but which were not repaired by them.

Chapter Six

This chapter summarizes the results of the analyses, gives a re-assessment of error analysis; a statement supporting conversational analysis; some implications of the research for the classroom and finally possible future research projects.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Introduction

A survey of the research in sociology reveals a conflict of paradigms, each represented by scholars who have reached a consensus on the nature of social order and the focus and research methods needed to study it. Coulter (1973:173) states that most prevailing perspectives construe "...social phenomena... as inert wholes, bounded or determined by their parameters." Ethnomethodology, a competing paradigm, is generating considerable discussion. It takes as its central task the investigation of common-sense knowledge and the procedures used by members to construct social order. It contends that social reality is known "through the interactional use of natural language." It is within this context of opposing paradigms that we wish to establish a substantive, theoretical, and methodological framework for this study. To do so we shall summarize the principles of the dominant paradigm, normative sociology and situate second language research within its theoretical and methodological perspectives. Secondly, we will describe the key constructs of ethnomethodology, in part to critique normative research but, ultimately, as the reality within which this study research has its origin and development.

I. The Normative Research Paradigm

Social scientists have adopted the models of the natural sciences as central to their research paradigm. These models seek to establish and explain causal relationships among concepts and events. Causal models require that each event have an antecedent. Any change is the result of a cause. Even if the cause is not stated it is implied. Mehan and Wood (1975:64) give the example, "The window broke." Although not stated, the causative agent is implied to be man, or the wind, or a stone, etc. They conclude, "...the causative agent is a linearly recoverable past."

In order to establish cause and effect, the scientific model relies on literal description. The literal definition of a concept is based on the law of the excluded middle and the law of identity. The law of the excluded middle separates objects and events dichotomously. Stated in terms of formal logic, *p*/not *p* is part of this law. The attributes of *p* make it separate from *q*. Thus *p*/not *p* is not the equivalent of *p/q* for those in *q* may not be in *p* (Mehan and Wood, 1975:64). The law of the excluded middle determines that *p* and *q* are mutually exclusive.

The attributes of any object are assumed to be stable, discrete, and permanent. By this it is meant that an object once described by its physical properties will be recognized and defined in the same way at a later time. The object possesses those attributes and all competent observers will recognize it. An object cannot be two things at once according to the law of the excluded middle.

The law of identity assumes that all identical things share the same properties. There is no way to distinguish between identical objects.

For the natural sciences these laws have proven highly effective. As Cicourel (1964:31) explains, "the basis for measurement in the natural sciences rests on mathematical structures which assume *consistency* in the axioms and *completeness*..." This consistency and completeness have allowed for the development of theories. The more complete and consistent a theory, the greater its ability to predict.

For the social sciences, this approach has not been fortuitous. The social phenomena under observation cannot be observed and measured directly. For this reason social scientists have moved to measurement of "indicators." For example, intelligence may be the theorized *cause* of certain behaviours. To show this relationship between indicators and the abstract entity under study, researchers often use models, flow charts or maps. Scientific models have been used as a way of explicating linguistic performance as an indicator of competence. Fromkin (1968:48) suggests the following procedure:

> Out of this chaos [natural speech] one can abstract similarities and causal relationships which represent an idealisation constituting a model of performance, as well as an idealisation which represents the speaker's competence ... the very errors made ... reveal both the restraints imposed by performance rules and the close interrelationship between these and the rules of competence.

Having accepted errors as indicators of performance she can now theorize about the *cause* of error, linguistic competence and search for a model of performance which will adequately show the interrelationship.

Heap (1977:5) sees competence as the capacity of some idealized person or state. However, he carries his argument further: "...Competence here is a context-free idealization which can be used to explain and predict actual performance... under ideal conditions *which are never present in everyday life*." (emphasis added)

Performance always takes place in a context (e.g. an oral test, an informal conversation, adult-child interaction). Context influences performance and is, in turn, influenced by performance. Therefore, competence, which is inferred *ad hoc* by performance, must also be subject to context dependency. Heap's comments are based on the ethnomethodological concept of language and social realities. He underlines the vagueness of idealized terms. They are not discrete, stable, and permanent but embedded in and defined by everyday life. The vagueness of terms has been attacked by other philosophers such as Wilson (1972:30) who are highly critical of research in which words are not taken seriously. His "short and brutal answer" to the problems of educational research is that researchers have not ensured an adequate representation of meaning. The ethnomethodologist goes further - meaning is dependent on context and context is unbounded. Literal description is not possible. Cicourel (1964:4) summarizes the problem for sociology: "... sociology's present concern for the label 'science' and its insistence on 'quantitative findings' obscures nontrivial prediction and explanation because measurement is accomplished by fiat." To conclude, the concept of a social world which is stable, discrete, and "out there" for everyone to see is the basis of the normative social science reality. This external world is amenable to literal description and measurement and is governed by the rules of formal logic. The model of actor is central to this perspective. The actor can identify the social situation and apply a given rule so that his behavior is appropriate to the situation. Talk is a form of behavior which the social scientist uses as a resource in his studies.

Theoretically this factual world is open to study in the same sense that the physical world is. However, this is not true in that measurement must be done "by fiat." Certain behaviors are assumed to be indicators of abstract entities which cannot, of course, be directly observed. For example, once an error has been described literally, e.g. an -ING error, it can be placed in a linear progression which ends in language mastery. The recording of errors of this genre can be tabulated, treated statistically and the competence of the speaker determined. Since -ING errors have been literally described, results can be generalized to other situations, e.g. child or adult learners. The intent behind this research is to "discover" a theory or rule which has predictive value. Future experiments on error can replicate procedures and results. Theories can be postulated, verified or refuted.

In the next section we will present an historical perspective on second language research and show its indebtedness to the normative paradigm.

II. Second Language Research: Error Analysis

The field of language learning has taken a long time to address the relationship of first and second language learning and theories of language acquisition. The reasons for this separation are due to the differences of purpose, method and focus in research traditions (Ervin-Tripp, 1978:191). In 1970 when Brown began his research on first language acquisition, there was virtually no research on the process of child second language learning. Most of the published literature dealt with the problems and methods of teaching. Burt and Dulay (1974:71) speculate that "... this curious state of affairs was probably due to the widespread acceptance of the behaviorist learning principles developed by experimental psychology ..." However, Brown (1973) showed it was possible to solicit morphemes in a test situation as well as count them in observational data. This breakthrough in terms of research methodology set the stage for the language research of the 1970's which has bridged the gap between first and second language acquisition. The bulk of this research has concentrated on morpheme counts and quantitative methodology. The acquisition of *form* has become a means of studying the acquisition of language (Hatch, 1978:402).

The analysis of errors, i.e. incorrect use of a given *form*, has been used to describe the stage of mastery at which a learner finds himself. For example, Brown (1973) discovered an invariant order for first language learners in the acquisition of morphemes beginning with the -ING form and progressing through more complex forms. Intrigued by his findings, Burt and Dulay (1974, 1978) used his research methods to determine if child second language learners exhibited the same invariant order of language acquisition. They conducted several studies on child second language learners in contact with English-speaking peers. Their research (1974) showed that the first language acquisition sequence was approximately the same for Spanish- and Chinese-speaking children learning English. They theorized that there was a creative construction process in language learning and that there must be certain "universal cognitive strategies that play a significant role in child second language acquisition" (1974:73). Undertaking a large-scale study of adult learners' acquisition of morphemes, Bailey, Madden and Krashen (1974) replicated the procedures used by Burt and Dulay so as to compare the order of acquisition of morphemes for adult and child second language learners. Their findings indicate that adults use common strategies for second language learning and that there is a common order of acquisition. Their data also support the hypothesis that errors are a result of intra-rather than inter-lingual processes.

Warner-Gough (1975) criticizes the above research for its assumption that *form* means acquisition of *function*. Isolating the progressive form (AUX & -ING, e.g. I am speaking) and its functions, she suggests that "... we have falsely assumed function to be a precursor of form, so that the semantic role of the progressive has remained improperly analyzed ..." (1975:157). In her data she analyzed all the progressives produced by her subject, a Persian child. It was quite apparent that use of -ING did *not* indicate understanding of *function*. She points out four characteristics which contribute to the early acquisition of the -ING *form*: firstly, it is easily recognizable; secondly, it is a pervasive form in English; thirdly it is a stable form; and lastly it does not affect the base verb form. In conclusion she contends that research results and theories of language acquisition "... may have to be qualified when the total language environment of the learner is examined - *input as well as output*" (1975:165, emphasis added). By emphasizing the total language environment, Warner-Gough has indicated an important shift in emphasis, one which this study finds essential. Any strict tabulation distorts the reality of the speaker by removing the context.

Error analysis is the basis of a set of theories which we have subsumed under "interlanguage" (Selinker, 1972). Several second language researchers (Corder, 1974; Nemser, 1974; and Richards, 1971, in particular) became convinced that the use of newer and better teaching methods would never eliminate the occurrence of errors. In fact, Corder (1974:28) states that "... the making of errors is an inevitable and indeed necessary part of the learning process. The 'correction' of error provides precisely the sort of negative evidence which is necessary to discovery of the correct concept or rule." They hypothesized that the errors made by the learner (adult) represented various strategies, e.g. overgeneralization, simplification, etc., and were part of the progress toward mastery of the target language. Children also were observed to use these strategies as they learn a second language (Selinker, Swain and Dumas, 1975).

The concepts of self-correction and correct rule are the keys to Krashen's Monitor Model (Krashen and Pon, 1975). Their subject was an advanced second language learner whose utterances were produced in normal family situations or in friendly conversations. Errors were recorded by native speakers who immediately presented them to the subject. They record that the subject was able to correct nearly every error in the corpus (about 95%). They conclude that "... she has a conscious knowledge of the rules *but did not have time to apply this knowledge*" (1975:126, emphasis added).

Both of these studies are important to the development of error/repair as it is studied in this study. Specifically they imply that rules are necessarily complete. While Corder assumes that the discovery of the rule will ensure correct speech, Krashen and Pon assume that, given sufficient time, the student will apply the rule. Ethnomethodology expands upon this research because it deals at some length with the necessary incompleteness of rules.

Although members constantly refer to rules as part of the factual and objective reality in which they live, rules have no meaning except as a part of the ceaseless construction of social reality. Garfinkel (1967a:41) claims that rules have "surrounding fringes" which members fill in according to their practical concerns at any given time. Mehan and Wood (1975:89) state that to make sense of rules, the apprehender makes use of his particular realities which "... always include an ongoing use of the context within which these rules are found." Consequently, he concludes, that ethnomethodology conceives of the rules, actors and situations as mutually constituting. This varies radically from the theory of rules implicit in Krashen and Selinker which assumes that rules are external and objective; they are there to be discovered. Actors, once they have uncovered the rules, apply them to situations which are readily definable. Thus an actor enters a situation which he can define, applies the rule which the situation demands and acts automatically. Garfinkel refers to the actor as the "judgemental dope" in this theory of rules. Grammatical rules of correctness carry a fringe of incompleteness which must also be filled in differently in different situations. For example, a native speaker may use an incorrect form to indicate his membership in a situation where correct grammar may "sign" his "outsider" status. Jefferson (1974), in a study of courtroom language, shows that the accused will "correct" what he considers inappropriate words to "fit" the context. She argues that "... the error correction [self-repair] format ... can be used to invoke alternatives ... and thereby serve as a resource for negotiating and perhaps reformulating a current set of identities" (1974:181). Correct grammar is possibly of less concern to Krashen's subject in family conversations. In fact, it is possible that the errors were important as a sign of membership.

The definition of error as used in the second language studies quoted has been consonant with the scientific model. It is based on an assumption that the native speaker's standard can be literally defined. Error can therefore be "measured" as a deviation from this standard. Accuracy and error are mutually exclusive. Furthermore an error which has been discovered (e.g. the incorrect form of -ING) is identical to all other errors of its category. The category can be classified according to the cause of its production. We would argue that "error" as it presents itself in everyday conversation is not quite so "neat." For example, "You done good" is by linguistic standards an incorrect sentence. However, once in context, it may not be heard as incorrect. Consider it as a compliment after a demanding performance or as part of the vernacular of a particular group of speakers. To the speaker/hearer who *may* hear it as error, correcting it is problematic. It depends upon the context and social implications. Furthermore, certain idiomatic expressions contain grammatical errors and are never subject to correction. We also know that usage varies according to the country where the language is spoken and within its linguistic and historical influences. We conclude that the native speaker's standard must not be taken for granted. It is far from pristine!

Correction is less problematic in certain contexts. In fact, in the classroom situation, correction is considered part of the task at hand and a right belongs which almost exclusively to the teacher. Holley and King (1971) emphasize that "[f]oreign language teachers have been trained to correct faulty student responses quickly and consistently for grammatical or pronunciation errors assuming that correct learning will result" (1971:494). The focus of this research literature (Allwright, 1975; Chandron, 1977; Fanselow, 1977, Long, 1977, for example) is on the effectiveness of correction. As it is the teacher's task to teach correct usage and he is the resident expert, correction can be seen as part of members' practices. (We will deal with this assumption again in our discussion of the pilot project.) Some researchers (Cohen and Robbins, 1976; Krashen and Pon, 1975; Schachter, Tyson and Diffley, 1976) have asked learners to explain their errors *post hoc*. These studies dealt with adult learners. In a general way, adults are assumed to be competent to give information on their own reasoning and behavior. Moerman (1972) refutes this assumption. His analyses of "breaching," i.e. the breaking of social rules, involved asking participants to comment on rules of talk. Their answers did not tally with his data. He concluded that the "[informant's] answer, like any informant's abstracted norm, is a puzzle, not a solution" (1972:203).

In his opinion, the difficulty resided in the decontextualization of the question. His study therefore aimed to make explicit the *contexted features* of natural interaction to which members referred to produce abstracted norms and social knowledge.

In the same research, Moerman (1972) exposes a difficulty for which there are no procedures. He refers to the lack of procedures for "... decontexting one event for use as a criterion of other events and classes of events" (1972:204). We see this as a principled problem in the recent studies on "good language learners" (Naiman, Frölich, Stern and Todesco, 1978; Rubin, 1975).

The models developed for an idealized language learner are derived from the findings of questionnaires, interviews, standardizations, etc. There is, however, no way of knowing how the information is incorporated into the model. For the reader to use such a model, we propose that he must know what factors are transcontextual. He can then determine *how* these factors are effected by the context in which the learner finds himself.

Although the research on error analysis in language acquisition has contributed to substantive, theoretical, and methodological issues as we have suggested, it has not addressed the prior questions of what is error, how does context influence error/repair nor has it seriously questioned the most *effective* method for analyzing talk. In the following discussion, we will expose the position taken by ethnomethodology on these questions and on methodology.

III. Ethnomethodology

Ethnomethodology differs philosophically and methodologically from the normative paradigm described above. Rather than a factual world "out there," ethnomethodology postulates a social reality and social order which are the accomplishments of its members' interactional use of natural language. Natural language is necessarily plurisemantic. It is only in context that meaning is created. Context itself is not inert and bounded. As Coulter (1973:175) explains, "Contextual particulars are not codifiable into strict conditions correlative to specifiable meanings - they are indeterminable; one context can always be placed in a wider one, and so on." Members do not experience this as a problem, however. They experience the social world as stable and ordely, and the sense of social structure is taken for granted. Ethnomethodology takes as its central investigation the study of *how* members make sense of the social situations of which they are, at once, members and creators. The study of social structure and meaning is done by using recordings of talk, the medium of social reality. Ethnomethodology refutes the concepts of literal description and quantitative methods. In their place, it proposes "descriptive investigations" which are the result of discourse or conversational analysis. The data are presented for other researchers to examine. In this sense ethnomethodology joins the research undertaken by scientists who also make their findings available for future analysis.

This last section of the research literature will concentrate on the key concepts of indexicality, reflexivity, and the construction of reality, and on the methodology of conversational analysis.

A. *Indexicality*

According to Leiter (1980:107), indexicality "... refers to the contextual nature of objects and events ... Without a supplied context, objects and events have equivocal or multiple meanings." The expressions used by members as they talk are not specified and they lend themselves to various interpretations. The sense or meaning of these expressions is not equivocal for members once *context is supplied*. Context consists of many aspects of the actual encounter or event: who the speaker is; the setting; the actual or potential relationship between speaker and hearer; the current purpose or intent, etc. (Garfinkel and Sacks, 1970:348-350). Leiter uses the classic example of "the book is in the pen" to show how meaning changes when the speaker is a spy, a farmer, etc. In addition, contexts are open-ended as one elaborates indefinitely on when the speaker talks, to whom, etc.

Indexical expressions are an essential property of language. "... *all* symbolic forms (rules, linguistic utterances, gestures, actions) carry a fringe of incompleteness that must be filled in, and filled in differently every time they occur" (Mehan and Wood, 1975:90). The question then arises: are any utterances free of indexicality?

Barnes and Law (1976) provide a useful summary of the various perspectives on this question. They trace the term "indexical" from its philosophical or logical usage to its present development in ethnomethodology. Philosophers label expressions indexical when their "truth" require" ... knowledge of the particular context of use, as when for example, the reference of an expressions is ascertainable only by those with knowledge of the context of use" (1976:224). They refer to Bar-Hillel (1954) as an example of this form of philosophical reasoning. Bar-Hillel contrasts indexicals such as "I am hungry" or "It's raining" with "truth value" statements such as "Ice floats on water." Mehan and Wood dispute the "truth" of the latter statement by demonstrating the necessity of context, e.g. western scientific knowledge and of the "*et cetera* of our *ceteris paribus*" (1975:94). Barnes and Law are more acerbic. Not only do they find that the suggestion that such statements have context independent referents is indefensible, they refute the theory of meaning upon which Bar-Hillel has based his argument as "a piece of decrepit philosophical apparatus [which] cannot serve to guide the development of the notion of indexicality in sociology" (1976:225). Their thesis is that "... all expressions ... all meanings are constantly subject to negotiation and renegotiation as expressions are used and concepts are applied" (1976:226). Their subsidiary hypothesis is that, for "... any ethnomethodologically plausible definition of indexicality ... no discrimination will be possible between [everyday] discourse and scientific, mathematical, logical, or any other kind of 'formal' discourse" (1976:226). To defeat the dichotomy between "scientific/objective" and "indexical" expressions which they find present or implicit, in some ethnomethodological writings, they attack the model institutions of unrevisable terms: mathematics. They trace the historical development of Euler's Theorem which is described as "... something of an ethnomethodological classic, not to be missed by anyone interested in the relationship between 'talk' and procedure, or in the nature of 'glossing' and its importance in the development of mathematics" (1976:229). They demonstrate that its development was "marked by constant revision of the meaning of terms. It was [an] exercise in repairing indexicality" (1976:233). They conclude that "... human discourse is constitutively indexical" (1976:235).

It must be emphasized that the speaker and listener in everyday life do not experience this equivocality and vagueness. They rely on contextual factors and the ceaseless work of interpretive procedures to establish "clear" meaning. The social world is experienced as orderly, structured, and available to all. Leiter (1980:109) states: "The contextual particulars that make up the context are assembled by the member to decide the specific sense of the talk. Once assembled, the talk is perceived as possessing stable meaning."

B. *Indexicality and the "Test Interview Orale"*

In the following discussion, we will digress from the literature review to apply indexicality, ethnomethodological studies of tests and testing interactions to the Test Interview Orale (to be referred to as the Oral Test) which was recorded for the data of this study. This test of oral production has been used for several years in the Calgary Board of Education to test junior high school bilingual students.

The goals of a standardized test are normally stated in unambiguous terms in the test booklet. The same is true of the Oral Test. Meloche (undated: p. 5) purports to "mesurer l'acquisition de cette compétence [linguistique]" and "... une question plus fondamentale, à savoir: Est-ce qu'il y a communication?" (to measure the acquisition of that competence [linguistic] and a more fundamental question, Is there communication?) Communication is glossed as part of the current second language teaching which tends to "l'acquisition d'une compétence de communication" (the acquisition of communicative competence) which, in turn, includes "des règles d'usage de la conversation" (conversational rules of usage). Communicative competence is established as a taken-for-granted part of second language teachers' and sociolinguists' worlds. This taken-for-grantedness of communicative competence can be understood as the frame of reference for administrator, teacher, examiner - and researcher. Meloche acknowledges that the interview situation constrains communication but reasons that it is superior to "les tests «à points discrets» normalisés" (standardized discrete point tests). What remains for the researcher, examiner and the student to accomplish is the crucial link between performance on the test as a criterion for communicative competence.

The introduction has provided precious little context for our understanding of communicative competence. The "déroulement" of the test will now be the context. How an answer identified as "right" is crucial to our understanding of what it claims to represent.

The criteria for "correct" answers is spread through the instructions to the examiner. The basis for correctness is "information appropiée." Once the examiner has ascertained that the information in the response is appropriate, he considers the grammatical errors in the answer. It is possible to have an error-free answer in which the "wrong" information is given and therefore receive a zero. The highest mark is 2, given for an error-free answer containing appropriate information (undated, p. 9). In general, a "right" answer is defined as "... toute réponse plausible, i.e. toute réponse utilisée par un francophone doit être acceptée" (all plausible answers, i.e. any answer used by a francophone must be accepted) (undated, p. 9). Later in the body of the test, the student is instructed to give a complete sentence. These criteria do not provide much insight into communicative competence.

The following example taken from a recording will show the highly indexical nature of communicative competence, correct answers and complete sentences.

1.1

1	I_1	Seize — Qu'est ce que Pierre	(Sixteen — What did Pierre do
2		a fait dimanche passé avant	last Sunday before going to
3		de se coucher?	bed?)
4	A	um il a pris un bain	(um he took a bath)
5	I_1	n'oublie pas de me donner	(don't forget always to give me
6		toujours des phrases	complete sentences)
7		complètes.	
8	A	ah ... oui, j'ai oublié	(ah ... yes, I forgot)
9	I_1	Je sais/	(I know)
10	I_2	On reprend celle-là.	(Let's start again there. What
11		Qu'est-ce que Pierre a fait	did Pierre do last Sunday
12		dimanche passé avant de se	before going to bed?)
13		coucher?	
14	A	um. Pierre a un-un-bain	(Um. Pierre a-a-a bath last
15		dimanche passé avant de se	Sunday before going to bed.)
16		coucher.	

For the student, A, there are multiple facets to the context of this test question. Initially, she is faced with an interviewer (I_1) who is indicating the pictures which are the context for the questions. The second teacher (I_2) is recording her marks. Up to this point I_2 has remained silent, marking the response. Suddenly, A finds herself in a testing situation with two examiners as I_2 repeats the question for her (lines 10-13). The pictures are fairly unambiguous stylistically and in terms of the cartoon personalities they resemble those in the French Language Arts text. It has been established for A that her answer - to be appropriate - must use these pictures exclusively.

Her first answer (line 4) meets the criteria of correctness (both in terms of information and grammar) and completeness. For I_1, however, the sentence is not "complete" (line 5). I_2 agrees with her as does A (line 8). I_2 repeats the question (lines 10-13) and A incorporates "dimanche passé avant de se coucher" in her answer (lines 14-16). She has interpreted "correct" as including part of the question. Her second answer (lines 14-16) is longer and more "complete." She repeats this format, i.e. answer + part of question, in the next question and is not "corrected." We can hear these answers as now conforming to the criterion of "complete sentence." Unfortunately her second answer (lines 14-16) is not grammatically correct. The directions are clear for the marker. In the case of a "wrong" answer which the student has corrected, only the *last* answer is noted for making. The reason for the error in the second answer is not available to us. However, Heap (1980) has identified problems of testing as fitting into three categories. It is possible to hear the change of format from I_1 and A to I_1, I_2 and A as creating a Barrier Problem. A is faced with two examiners, both of whom have heard her response as wrong. This sense of "wrongness" is not righted by feedback as it would be in the classroom context.

This example has served to underline the indexicality of the goals of the test and the categories of right and wrong answer. The question of indexicality and its influence on both tests and informal conversation will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Four.

C. *Reflexivity*

Indexicality and reflexivity are inextricably interwoven. Leiter explains that "[w]hen defining reflexivity, it is best to remember what makes indexicality an essential property: the contextual particulars are themselves indexical. This sets up the property of reflexivity" (1980:138-139). An account reveals features of a setting to the observer. The indexical expression used in the accounts depend upon their setting for meaning. The setting, in turn, depends upon the account for explication. Leiter (1980:139) summarizes this relationship: "...a feature of any setting is the production of accounts. The setting gives meaning to talk and behavior within it, while at the same time, it exists in and through that very talk and behavior."

Mehan and Wood's discussion of reflexivity begins by establishing it as a feature of every reality. Each reality includes incorrigible proposition(s), coherence, interaction, fragility, and permeability. These aspects of reality are made constitutive by the ceaseless work of reflexivity. Unlike Schutz, who views a paramount reality from which others derive, Mehan and Wood contend that every reality is equal. Problems arise, however, when one reality is imposed upon another. They state that "...the imposition of one reality on another necessarily distorts the locality studied" (1975:38). The examples taken from Mehan's (1973) work on testing and children demonstrate this distorsion of reality as the child is seen as a less-than-competent adult. For the second language student in the Oral Test, his "less-than-competent" status is visible in the "foreignese""style (Hatch, 1978) of the (native speaker) interviewer.

In the following example, the shift from native speaker cadence to "foreignese" makes his not-yet-competent status hearable to the student.

1.2

1	J	um. oké d'a — d'habitude il	(Um. Okay us-usually he eats
2		prend son — um — petit	his — um — breakfast at home.)
3		déjeuner à la maison.	
4	I_1	bien — *ah, pardon, je suis*	(Good, ah, sorry, I'm not
5		*pas supposée de dire*	supposed to say "good.")
6		"*bien*" [ha! ha!	[ha! ha!
7	I_2	[ha! ha!	[ha! ha!
8	I_1	*numéro six. Est-ce que*	(number six. Is Pierre hungry
9		*Pierre a faim le matin?* *	in the morning?)
10	J	Est-est-ce que vous pouvez	(Can you repeat?)
11		répéter?	
12	I_1	Oui, Est-ce que Pierre a faim	(Yes, Is Pierre hungry in the
13		le matin?	morning?)

For J, the student, this exchange can be heard as evidence of his status as second language speaker. As I_1 and I_2 exchange information (lines 4-7) in what is for all practical purposes an aside, they also join in laughter. J does not accept the invitation to laugh (Jefferson, 1979) possibly because he does not understand the examiner's comments. She continues with question 6 (line 8), at a native speaker cadence. Although the question is a simple one, J is lost and requires a repeat. I_1 does so in "foreignese" (lines 12-13).

In her critique of language tests (in which the student speaks) Cazden (1974) emphasizes the distortion which occurs because of the context-sensitive nature of speech. She proposes "concentrated encounters" in which the student and the teacher interact in small group encounters. Her rationale is the following:

> Familiarity is the key precisely because the situational influences on speech are so powerful that it is difficult if not impossible to get a child to transfer, without reduced quantity or distorded quality, language skills he or she has demonstrated in a natural situation to some more contrived situation...
>
> (1974:343, emphasis added)

She goes on to give specific examples of hyper-correction in testing situations which

> ... seem inevitably to elicit a more monitored form of speech ... in children ... aware of the special nature of the testing situation... Monitored speech ("When in doubt and when it matters") seems to shift toward hypercorrection, to favor forms that are ... more rule-governed [in development].
>
> (Cazden, 1974:345)

One of the examiners, remarking on the high number of correct answers on the Oral Test, stated, "Self-correction of errors indicated overriding concern for syntactical and morphological accuracy" (Calgary Bilingual Program: External Evaluation April, 1981, unpublished).

Mehan and Wood (1975) also critique the interview situation which purports to obtain data about something else. They state, "The interviewer is not interested in the interview: the information there is not seen as part of that particular reaction, but is rather made to stand on behalf of other activities thet the researcher never observes" (p. 49). The Oral Test resembles a sociological interview in that the questions asked about the pictures are not interesting to the participants. The answers given stand for the student's linguistic and communicative competence. The interaction *per se* is not of interest. This is particularly noticeable at the beginning of the test. The examiner has completed the explanation of Pierre and the pictures which form a story. At this point, the student is asked if she has any questions (line 1).

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*Underlining indicates cadence and rhythm which more closely resembles native speaker speech.

1.3

1	I_1	As-tu des questions à poser	(Do you have any questions to
2		sur Pierre?	ask about Pierre?)
3	L	ah .../	(Ah ...)
4	I_1	Tu n'as pas besoin de	(You don't have to)
5		la faire	
6		... non/	(... no)
7	I_1	Si tu en	(If you have any ...)
8		as ...	
9		ah. oké.	(Ah. Okay.)

L hesitates as though she is considering a question. I_1 intercedes (lines 4-5) and informs her that a question is not necessary. (None of the students asked questions at this point.) The request for questions can be heard as rhetorical. The reality of the testing format does not allow interaction to be based on the answers given by the students. In fact, questions such as this one which are not marked are of no interest. Unlike classroom or information conversation there is no feedback or follow up. The rare occasions on which a student does ask a question (after requested to do so by the examiner), it is not answered. Examiners are told explicitly *not* to comment on student answers.

The Oral Test is also based on the formal logic of *Programmes Par Objectifs* which moves in a linear progression from "simple" to more "complex" tasks in French. Therefore once the student has three consecutive unanswered questions, or inappropriate information in 3 questions, the interviewer assumes that he has not mastered the linear progression. A direct correlation between the objective to be measured, the question asked and the student's answer is part of the testing reality. This unidimensional relationship exists only in the test designer's reality. The student brings his own frame of reference to the test. His answers reflect his understanding of the test items, not the reasoning or knowledge presupposed by the tester.

Inherent in the test reality is the standardization of procedures and marking. Although there is no one "right" answer, marks are allocated and used to determine the validity of the test. Ethnomethodology has shown that procedures and marks are not standardized in the *actual* testing situation (MacKay, 1974). The data in this study also demonstrate the inconsistency of the test presentation. Although the student's answers are available to the test marker, he is confined by the marking procedures (2-1-0) and must make do for all practical purposes.

The informal peer conversation is part of a different reality. Questions are of interest to the interaction and answers form the basis of the "flow." Errors are subject to feedback and may, indeed, be the topic of interaction.

The reference brings us back to the question of indexicality which is interwoven inextricably with reflexivity. The intelligibility of error is context-dependent. However, what appears as correction can be treated as a "reflexive warrant" for claiming that there was an error committed to which the correction is addressed. Heap (1980:1103) in his analysis of adjacency pairs states, "Reflexivity is a solution to indexicality." It is not a solution which addresses the intention of the current speaker, but in analyzing second language talk, it is insightful as this example illustrates.

1.4

1	N	tu étais née ici et tu es	(You were born here and you
2		allée à Edmonton/	went to Edmonton)
3	?	Non, tu es	(No, you were born)
4		née	
5	N	tu es née.	(You were born)

N's first statement "tu étais née" (line 1) is grammatically unacceptable. The unmodulated correction, "Non, tu es née" (lines 3-4) refers to this error. N's subsequent repeat of the corrected form acknowledges the error (line 5). This tripartite format, error/correction/repeat, occurs frequently both in second language classrooms and in our data base of informal conversations. Unlike some error/correction sequences which remain ambiguous to the observer, this example is unequivocal.

We have thus dealt with the indexical and reflexive nature of language and have endeavoured to show it has contributed substantially to our topic of error/correction as context-sensitive. The next section of this literature review deals with the construction of context as it is hearable and reportable by an observer/researcher.

D. *Construction of Context*

To answer their question "when is a context?" Erickson and Shultz (1981) reply that it is more then the physical setting and the combination of persons. They state that " . . . contexts are constituted by what people are doing and where and when they are doing it" (1981:148). Their definition incorporates "interactionally constituted environments" embedded in time and place. In this study, the place and time are of critical importance to the participants. It is the end of the grade nine year with its attendant ceremonies and rituals. Examinations, graduation exercises, and educational choices and decisions are of major interest. They constitute some of the "mutually shared and ratified definitions" of their context. Both the peer conversations and the oral exams which preceded them took place in the Bilingual Resource Room. Although the peer conversations are informal the physical context is still the school. Students in different groups used the dictionaries at hand and discussed the text-books which are present.

Our ultimate concern for context is the socially constructed one. To discuss it, we will concentrate on two essential concepts, firstly, the ethnomethodological concept of the "member" and, secondly, an explication of common-sense knowledge.

According to Garfinkel and Sacks (1970) "member" refers to the mastery of natural language. They observe that people, by speaking a natural language, can be heard to be engaged "in the objective production and objective display of common-sense/knowledge of everyday activities" (1970:342). Natural language is the *sine qua non* of social reality. "Members' practices" refer to *how* social reality is constructed through the interactional use of everyday language.

Coulter's (1979:22) discussion of everyday language elucidates the statements of Garfinkel and Sacks. He explains that, by speaking a language, a person partakes of "a system of rights, obligations, and sanctions." Thus a social reality exists prior to the entry of the member. These mutual rights and obligations or participant structures (Philips, 1972) are amenable to subtle negotiation and redistribution. In the Oral Test, for example, the right to ask questions belongs to the interviewer. At times, she may delegate this right to a student. On rare occasions, a student may take the right. Coulter also refers to "a range of socially-required skills" (1979:22). The study of sociolinguistics is helpful in discussing this range of skills. They isolate certain traits of speech such as stylistic shifts, codes, changes in prosodic features (Green and Wallat, 1979:160-161). Knowledge of these skills allows participants to orient to social situations - or to send "mixed" messages. For example a student can say "nothing" in tone which labels him "rebellious" and a candidate for disciplinary action.

Cook-Gumperz (19750 uses the metaphor of "foreground" and "background" to describe the social skills acquired with language. What our rebellious student has done is to "foreground (or make relevant) his knowledge of tone to render an innocuous message an insulting one. She would argue that he had learnt, as a matter of course, *how* language is defined by context and, in turn, defines context.

Schutz (1964) sees the mastery of language as more than vocabulary and syntax. It is "the epitome of typifications socially approved by the linguistic group" (1964:233). Studies such as Leiter's (1974) explicate the ways in which teachers, as a "linguistic group," have their own typifications such as "mature student," "discipline problem," "bright student," etc.

These participant structures, socially-required skills, and typifications allow each person to conduct an overwhelming array of everyday events in and through speaking a language *without* experiencing its inherent ambiguity. Each member relies on context to make sense of utterances and to construct context through the use of language. For an ethnomethodologist this view of language is a constitutive one. It means that language and context co-exist reflexively.

As we have stated, socially-required skills and typifications are part of the knowledge acquired with language. We will now discuss common-sense knowledge, which each member possesses. Members have a stock of knowledge which consists of recipes, social types, maxims, etc. (Leiter, 1980). This knowledge is socially derived, i.e. handed down from others. Students have their own stock of knowledge which incorporates family relations, typifications of events, other students and teachers. Each student has added personal experiences to this shared knowledge and, at times, can be heard to indicate to others that the reciprocity of shared perspectives does not apply to him.

The natural attitude toward life which assumes reciprocity of perspectives facilitates understanding in social situations. People take for granted the world and its facticity. This allows them to address events pragmatically without having doubts of a global nature. They are interested in those features of an event or of experience which are relevant to the purpose at hand. Students can be heard to "foreground" (Cook-Gumperz, 1975) the purposes of a test for example by providing minimum but accurate responses to questions about a picture.

Finally, common-sense reasoning is used to decide appropriateness, i.e. the articulation between items in the stock of knowledge and the situation at hand. As Leiter (1980:11) explains, appropriateness refers to how meaning is constructed.

Although meaning is encountered as factual by members, some formal structures are used to avoid or repair misunderstandings. One such structure is formulating "conversationalists' practices of saying-in-so-many-words-what-we-are-doing." (Garfinkel and Sacks, 1970:351). Thus a member may take the opportunity to describe the conversation, to share his goals, topic, point of view. In classroom situations, preformulation (French and Maclure, 1979) is used to identify context and/or shared meaning. This ensures that the student will orient to the same information as the teacher and thereby reduces the possibility of incorrect answers. When context is not clear, as in the case of adult-child interaction (Corsaro, 1978), clarification requests are used to verify, clarify or in some manner render specific the information given or the response desired.

Cicourel (1972:253) identifies the problem of the researcher/observer of conversations; ". . . he cannot presume that his experiences are identical to the actor's." He must rely on his own experiences, typifications, norms, etc. to recognize what are relevant behaviors to carry out his research schema. The answer to this dilemma lies in these and other "formal structures" (Garfinkel and Sacks, 1970:346) which are uniform, independent of cohort production and that these phenomena are the accomplishments of the work of each individual member.

To reiterate, context is not amenable to codification nor is meaning. For this reason we have drawn the reader's attention to some principled and embedded characteristics of context which will contribute to the analyses of Chapter Five. The last section of the literature review deals with methodology - conversational analysis.

IV. Conversational Analysis

As ethnomethodology is concerned with *how* a member makes sense of reality, part of its programmatic task has been to analyze talk and describe its formal features. Mehan suggests that the importance of talk can be traced to Austin's (1961) work on performatives. Talk is analyzed as *the doing of activities*. Ethnomethodology has emphasized "naturally occurring talk" and, in so doing, has elevated it to the status of a phenomenon for study (Mehan and Wood, 1975:118-119). The first studies to treat talk in this manner are by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974a) who identified turn-taking as the basis for conversation. Their analyses incorporate "[the] twin features of being context-free and capable of extraordinary context sensitivity" (p. 699). They note the following facts about conversation:

> (1) Speaker-change recurs, or at least occurs...
> (2) Overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time...
> (3) Occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common but brief...
> (4) Transition (from one turn to a next) with no gap and no overlap are common. Together with transitions by slight gap or slight overlap, they make up the vast majority of transitions...
> (5) Turn order is not fixed, but varies...
> (6) Turn size is not fixed, but varies...
> (7) Length of conversation is not specified in advance...
> (8) What parties say is not specified in advance...
> (9) Relative distribution of turns is not specified in advance...
> (10) Number of parties can vary...
> (11) Talk can be continuous or discontinuous...
> (12) Turn allocation techniques are obviously used. A current speaker may select a next speaker (as when he addresses a question to another party); or parties may self-select in starting to talk...
> (13) Various 'turn-constructional units' are employed; e.g., turns can be projectedly 'one word long', or they can be sentential in length...
> (14) Repair mechanisms exist for dealing with turn-taking errors and violations; e.g., if two parties find themselves talking at the same time, one of them will stop prematurely, thus repairing the trouble...
>
> (1974:700-701)

Although these observed facts are transcontextual they involve the work of co-participants to bring them about. In so doing, they are subject to context design. Our data show, for example, that in three-party conversations, a dyad may dominate almost to the exclusion of the third party or all three participants may take their turns "equally" for all practical purposes.

Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) also studied "repair" in conversations of native speakers. They defined error/correction as a trouble source/repair,

> The term "correction" is commonly understood to refer to the replacement of an "error" or "mistake" by what is "correct." The phenomena we are addressing, however, are

> neither contingent upon error, nor limited to replacement ... accordingly we will refer to "repair" rather than "correction" in order to capture the more general domain of occurrences.
>
> (Schegloff et al., 1977:363)

They suggest that word searches are not contingent on error. Sometimes a speaker re-orders without any hearable "error."

In their study of adults, Schegloff et al. were able to show characteristics of "repair." They located the placement of repair (same turn, transition turn, and subsequent turn), the initiator techniques and the organizational devices which allow repair to have context. Their findings show a preference for self-repair. Other-repair is dispreferred and when used is modulated. That is, the other poses a question, "huh," "do you mean," etc. Modulation is not used in disagreements, but Gaskill (1977:24,42-43) questions this distinction between correction and disagreement in his thesis. Disagreement and correction are context-dependent for their meaning.

Heap (1979:2) takes Schegloff et al. to task for their analysis of repair which he characterizes as a "certain kind of married piece ... [it] combines recollected categories with constructed ones." Using their data, Heap shows that other-initiations appear to be questions which request clarification or elaboration or restatement. In effect they *inquire* into a trouble source rather than *correcting* it. Where other-correction does occur, listener and speaker have "equal access to the affair judged about" (1979:11). He uses an example from their data in which two observers are discussing whether the bird they hear is a pigeon or a dove. He hypothesizes that they have become too involved with the constructed grammar of their analysis. Leiter (1980) also refers to the ethnomethodologists who critique Schegloff et al. for their endeavours to find context-free phenomena in naturally-occurring talk. His conclusion is that they do acknowledge the contect-sensitive nature of talk.

The analysis of repair provides the basis for two studies of adult second language learners. Gaskill (1980) studied other-corrections in conversations between adult English as a Second Language learners and native speakers. His findings showed that there were very few other-corrections thus corroborating Schegloff et al. However, his study also showed that some of the corrections were more assertive than those described in the correction-invitation format. They occurred in environments which elicited corrections. He discussed two phenomena of second language learners: word searches (often done in collaboration with another second language speaker) and the repetition of the word, once it is agreed upon.

Schwartz (1977) studied adult English Second Language speakers also. Students were placed in pairs for their conversations without the presence of a native speaker. Her findings supported those of Schegloff et al. in that self-repair has a preferred status. In matters of clear incompetence (dealing with correct syntax, morphology, etc.) the other speaker made frequent other-repairs. She also identified that learners " ... deal with trouble sources and problems in understanding ... by negotiating with each other to come to an agreement of meaning" (p. 152).

Any discussion of correction implies an understanding of criteria, a knowledge of what is correct (grammatically), appropriate to the situation and adequate to the task. Käsermann and Foppa (1982) argue that "monitoring [implies] the child's (first language) awareness of correct (in comparison with the adult model) forms. Thus self-corrections are evidence for, and give access to, the child's knowledge about standards" (1982:78). Although their methodology is quantitative and they have ignored the works of Corsaro (1978), Schegloff et al. (1977) and others which we consider essential to the analysis of repair, their concern with the standards is also implicit in this study. The questions we would ask however are: How can the member be heard to attend to a standard of correct and appropriate speech? What practices does he use in different contexts? Are these practices reflexively constituted with context? They conclude that children's repair of their utterances is " ... *an enduring* *aspect of the child's knowledge about language*" (1981:102, emphasis added). Our data support this conclusion.

Although the application of conversational analysis is relatively new in the study of second languages, it has proven to be productive. In criticizing the use of morpheme counts in second language studies, Hatch (1978:403) states:

> it is not enough to look at input and to look at frequency; the important thing is to look at the corpus as a whole and examine interactions that take place within conversations to see how that interaction itself determines frequency of forms and how it shows language functions evolving.

She recommends conversational analysis as a method which does just that.

Our choice of conversational analysis is consonant with our interest in talk as the phenomenon of study and our desire to examine "praxix in detail." It also generates data for descriptive investigations, the central task of ethnomethodological studies. In Chapter Two we have shown how error analysis and the ethnomethodological programmatic can be "wedded." We have underlined indexicality and reflexivity as essential factors in establishing meaning. Using the Oral Test we have demonstrated the indexicality of error and the reflexive world of the testing context. The rationale for using conversational analysis which demonstrates the features of error/repair as "context-free and context-sensitive" has been given. Chapter Three represents a turning point between the conceptual bases for this study and the procedures (Chapter Four) and the analysis of data (Chapter Five). It deals with the ethnographic particulars of the school, the growth of bilingual education and the status of member practices in the research field.

CHAPTER THREE

Field Issues

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present to the reader accounts of the school (ethnographic particulars), the development of bilingual education as it is embedded in members' practices, and our changing status as we moved from second language educator to researcher in second languages. To accomplish these tasks we will, at times, take the role of ethnographer whose purpose it is to describe the "objective social reality from the standpoint of the member of society" (Leiter, 1980:86). We do so with tongue-in-cheek for the "role" meanders between the "factual" world of the natural attitude and the constructed retrospective-prospective world of accounts.

As a member of the world of second language education and of ethnomethodological research, we confess that the accounts provided are "selected, truncated versions of what happened" (Leiter, 1980:162). They do not contain all the details but do hopefully give some sense of the events, the setting and the changing status from "knowing how" to "knowing" *how*, a journey essential to understanding members' practices.

I. The Members' Journey

Members are not aware in any explicit way of *how* behavior and events are produced. Theirs is a prepredicative knowledge. They "know how" to produce and recognize an event or social situation, but they do not "know" *how* they do it. Psathas (1980:11) states "Their efforts to explain 'how' they do it are simply inadequate to the task." The accounts produced by members make the features of a setting observable; in turn, the setting gives meaning to the talk and behavior which defines and through which the setting exists. The act of identifying certain features of a setting is part of the retrospective-prospective procedures used by the member who is part of the reflexive world as described. As a member of the second language educator's world the journey from the pilot project to the main study was from "knowing how" to "knowing" *how*. Our interest in errors was deeply embedded in the observation of students and teachers engaged in error/repair (Klinck, 1980:17-18), in the understanding of the mutuality of student performance/teacher competence on tests (Mackay, 1974:221), and in concern for students' self-monitoring abilities. We "knew how" to recognize error/repair in student and teacher interaction and we "knew how" to accomplish it ourselves. This perspective reflected a reality found in second language research and practices: the right and obligation of the teacher to correct. Reflexively, the student is understood as less-than-competent. Surely, he would apply the "rule of grammar" - if he knew it - and correct the error *before* its production? One can understand that both the teacher and we assumed that the student would *not* self-correct or other-correct in the pilot project. The data proved us wrong. Thus began the process of "knowing" *how*, or the study of members' practices in different contexts. We could no longer take for granted that only teachers "know how" to correct. Our task was to know *how* members, in this case students, accomplish the work of error/repair in different contexts. The changing member status at this point is emphasized for around it hinges the changes described from pilot study to thesis and the nebulous but equally essential process of gaining entry and establishing trust which is part of Chapter Four on procedures. It also reflects a concern for the status of all accounts and descriptions.

II. Elboya School, Community Concerns and Bilingual Programs

Although the transcribed data does justice to the sophisticated and subtle practices of students and examiners it does not give much "color" to the setting. This account of the school, its community, and its bilingual program is designed to do just that. Its origins are in talks with teachers, students and examiners and in impressions built up over several years of visits to the second language teachers of the school. It suffers, as do all accounts, from the biases of the informant and the observer. It cannot provide the "whole" reality for the reader but will endeavor to give sufficient detail to encourage him to "fill in" reflexively, his picture of the setting.

A. *Elboya School*

Our first impressions predate this study by five or six years. As supervisor of second languages we visited schools with the purpose of consulting with the principal and visiting second language classrooms. Elboya School is situated in an older, treed area of Calgary. Although some 30 years old, the school building is attractive if somewhat institutional. The surrounding community is described as upper middle class. As an older, established community it is facing the problem of declining school enrolments.

At present, the school is an elementary-junior high school, i.e. grades one to nine. In addition, it houses a two-streamed bilingual junior high: continuing bilingual and late immersion, and a special education program (learning disabled) at the elementary and junior high school. There is a fairly large number of out-of-district students in the regular program. The principal, Mrs. C. attributes this to the "positive school climate" fostered (perhaps) by the Fine Arts, Life Skills and Bilingual programs. It is considered to be an "academic" junior high school as well.

The administrative load facing the staff is "challenging." Not only are program offerings and time tabling difficult in a small school, but the melding together of such a diversified staff and student body poses problems. Mrs. C. stated emphatically that one had to be positive about bilingual education to take on the added complications! For example, the bilingual curriculum leader is also a member of the administrative staff. She can thus provide good liaison with the school administration as well as bilingual leadership in the school. The school was in the process of re-examining school philosophy in June when data were being collected. However, if the staff room can be seen as an indication of well-integrated staff, Elboya was not in difficulty. Both languages were in use and there was evidence of good-natured teasing. The bilingual teachers' workroom was used only for storing materials and equipment. It is a large sunny room with desks and tables available. It served as the examination room for the Oral Test.

The parents in the Elboya community are very active in the school. The Parent-Teacher Association plays an active role in the determining of school activities. In fact, it was this organization which petititioned the Calgary Board of Education to have the junior high bilingual program in this school! The Association includes some bilingual teachers on their executive. Bilingual parents, often from outside the community, are involved and active as well.

B. *Bilingual Education in Calgary and Elboya*

The curious phenomenon of a bilingual junior high school in an anglophone city of 600,000 intrigues and fascinates residents and visitors as much as it will the reader. An historical perspective of the growth of bilingual education in the Calgary Board of Education and some understanding of the Official Languages Act (1969) will be useful.

In 1972, Mr. D., Supervisor of Second Languages (Elementary) presented a proposal for a bilingual elementary program to be established at McDougal School. He was encouraged by the success of the Lambert project of Montreal in bilingual education and, furthermore, enthusiastically supported by a group of parents. Some 25 grade one students were enrolled. In the last ten years the program has spread to 11 schools and approximately 8% of the student population are enrolled in the program. There are waiting lists for enrolment in the schools and newspaper pictures of parents lining up at midnight prior to registration are not uncommon. To say the least, bilingual education is part of the concept of education in Calgary!

In 1977, as Supervisor of Second Languages (Secondary Schools), we began to look into the possibilities of setting up a prototype junior high late immersion program. Branton Junior High School administration was enthusiastic. In 1978 the school board gave approval for the program. It began with 60 grade seven students who had little or no French in their elementary background. Like the elementary programs, it has met with enthusiasm and success. Elboya, following the model of Branton, began in 1979. This was also the year that the first students from the elementary bilingual program started grade seven. A third junior high opened in 1982 and two more centres are proposed for September 1983. The Calgary Board of Education's commitment to the students has been extended to a senior high program at William Aberhart Senior High (1981) and Western Canada Senior High (1982).

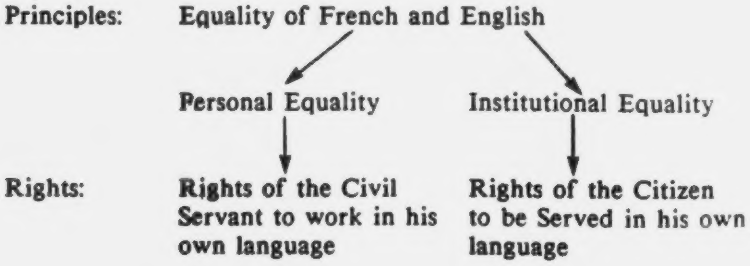
This educational program and decision-making has created a new reality in Canada. Parents, who decide for this option, often join the Canadian Parents for French, a powerful, dedicated group of parents who hold Canadian-wide conferences on bilingual education. Teachers and administrators have formed the Canadian Association of Teachers of Immersion which meets on a nation-wide basis at conferences.

For the student of Canadian educational history, the phenomenon of bilingual education in Western Canada is a fascinating one. Where bilingual education was once (1915) "democratically" voted out of existence, it is now supported by a grassroots movement of exceptional vigor! Education of anglophone students in French is part of the reality of education. Obtaining information on that teaching/learning experience has reflexively contributed to its vitality.

C. *The Prior Question: Why Bilingual Education?*

To discuss immersion programs without referring to the Official Language Act of 1969 is to omit an essential aspect of the contextual determination of this social event. The Act has, of course, been treated as a part of Canadian history, politics and even national character. It is not this aspect of macro context that we would discuss. Rather it is the implications of the Act on the practices of members.

The Act changed the languages of communication in the institution of the federal civil service. In delineating future language behavior for its members, it set up a basic contradiction. Bibeau (1975) maps the Act as follows:


Principles:
Equality of French and English
Personal Equality
Institutional Equality
Rights:
Rights of the Civil Servant to work in his own language
Rights of the Citizen to be Served in his own language

The rights that are derived from the principle of equality bring out

> ... a fundamental contradiction .... [c]ontact between public servants and citizens of different languages obliges some to accomodate themselves to the language of others, and thus the right of some (the citizens) becomes the obligation of others (the public servants).
>
> (1975:44)

The new Canadian bilingual state is based on the principle of personal responsibility, not of territoriality, (two unilingual entities in geographically different regions). As Bibeau notes, the government had two means of fulfilling its obligations with regard to citizens and public servants. It could recruit according to language competence or it could offer the opportunity to acquire language competence through a training program. In fact, at the level of public service, it did both.

Furthermore, it set up funding "annexes" and programs (teacher and student bursaries and exchanges, travel programs, etc.) which were available to public and post secondary educational institutions. Although offered through provincial governments to school boards, it is plausible to argue that the federal government was extending its programs to meet the needs for bilingual employees by involving public education. (Indeed, it has now phased out its civil service language training program, anticipating that the present graduates from bilingual programs will fill its need for new employees.)

We will now direct our attention to the funding used to implement majority child immersion programs. The prototypes of bilingual education were in the capitol city area: Ottawa and Carleton public and separate boards. (It must be acknowledged that the first immersion program was set up in the Montreal area in 1969.) Working closely with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education on the evaluation of the effects of bilingual education on IQ, attitude, and achievement in various subject areas, these boards became leaders of a new educational thrust in Canada. It became part of the Canadian educational scene to accept bilingual education and to rely on the scientific, quantitative evaluation studies as proof of its viability.

Thus two aspects of the second language reality have become a part of the members' (teachers, students and parents, researchers) common-sense knowledge. Cicourel says that as utterance not only gives certain information it makes "room for itself;" it creates a world of facticity - one in which information can be given. Thus the bilingual program both creates a world in which anglophone children are taught in French and also a world in which information on teaching them in French is acceptable. This reality has been elaborated by the use of objective tests. It is part of the facticity of our world that a standardized test attempts to evaluate student knowledge (in this case language proficiency). In so doing, it creates a reality in which language proficiency can be evaluated objectively. The pervasiveness of the objective test is apparent as even the critics of bilingual education refer to the results of objective tests to disprove its results. In a recent article, Hammerley (in press, 1983) quotes a study in which "more than 52% of the sentences produced by Grades 5 & 6 immersion children are incorrect." He goes on to refer to a"... generation of little 'butchers' of the French language...".

D. *Gaining Entry to the School*

It is not uncommon for studies in education to include a long section on the "work" needed to gain entry to the school and to establish trust with administrative staff and students. In the case of this study entry to the school and the establishment of good working relations with support and professional staff was easily secured. In part this was the result of the collegial relationship developed during our time as teacher, supervisor and consultant with the Second Languages Department in the Calgary Board of Education. Although stated from our perspective (and we must openly allow for prejudice!) the rapport was one of mutual respect and liking. Both Branton and Elboya administration had voiced an interest in the pilot study and a willingness to collaborate in the fall of 1981.

In December 1981 Mr. D., Supervisor of Second Languages, approached us to do the three year summative evaluation of the bilingual program at Elboya Junior High. The evaluation was required by Annex F funding at the end of the "seed" funding. The acceptance of this contract made Elboya a likely site for both the pilot study and this study. I knew Mrs. C., the Principal, a former French teacher, who was enthused at the prospect of being involved in research on bilingualism. Mrs. B., curriculum leader, was also very supportive. Their warmth, enthusiasm, and openness undoubtedly infected both professional and support staff. The staff were interested and especially, when the recording equipment was "unco-operative," more than helpful. The secretaries and custodians were patient and friendly, although, particularly in the hectic month of June, they were obviously very occupied with school daily affairs and really did not need another "problem"! A positive climate in the school was prevalent during the period of the study.

I would be remiss not to mention the students (and their parents who consented to the recordings) without whose co-operation the pilot study and the informal conversations would never have occurred. They were perhaps influenced by Mrs. B.'s enthusiasms - or perhaps "encouraged" to be enthusiastic! Certainly they were willing subjects and intensely curious about the studies. After the initial pilot study, the four girls involved had many questions and willingly gave their impressions of "conversations." In one of the video tapings of informal conversation the students (who were unsupervised) continued past the prescribed fifteen minutes. As D said, "Nous allons faire un faveur pour elle" (We'll do her a favor!).

The collaboration and trust extended to the Second Languages team in Central Office. Mr. D. (Supervisor) and Mrs. H. (second language specialist) were diligent in picking out the francophone examiners. They were supportive of the in-service we conducted on the Oral Test and more than willing to make available testing brochures, marking procedures, etc.

Gaining entry to a school and establishing trust are part of gaining entry into a program. The bilingual program at Elboya has had its growing pains. Teachers have spent long hours developing curriculum and teaching techniques. The housing of continuing bilingual and late immersion students has not made the situation simpler. Various "tutorials," mixing of streams, etc. have been tried as solutions to the perceived difficulties. This searching and testing of solutions cannot happen if staff and administration do not work closely. However, close collaboration cannot even be considered without the dedication of classroom teachers. When asked, as part of the evaluation, if they were satisfied with their teaching assignment, they were unanimous in saying they would never return to a core French program. Some teachers also expressed their admiration of their student's tenacity and abilities.

In summary, the Elboya staff are to be commended on their attitude and their co-operation. In discussing the role of lay members, Zimmerman and Pollard (1971:87) state:

> once lay members' accounts are the object of evaluation, the professional investigator has raised ... [them] to status of colleague ... The status is assumed once the features of the world (i.e. everyday life) are adopted as the unquestioned point of departure.

The experience of collegiality was, hopefully, as positive for students and staff as for ourselves.

Finally, these accounts, based on the accounts of others and personal recollections have dubious status even with the ethnomethodology definition of accounts. Attentiveness to field diary notes was random to say the least. In effect, the recordings and the context which was created through talk were the area of concentration. The remainder of this study will be evidence of this preoccupation. Nonetheless, it is incumbent on us to state the following general issues which are critical to ethnomethodological empiricism.

(1) Accounts and documentary procedures define and are defined by the member, the setting and the occasion. The indexicality of these utterances relies on context - which is always open-ended- for meaning. No account represents the "total" picture.

(2) The element of trust, as Garfinkel (1967:191-193) described it, is the result of the constitutive order of events and of compliance with this order. This allows persons to "trust" each other as they are governed by constitutive expectancies. In this situation, trust was available as part of the stock of knowledge of the members, both second languages educators and the researcher.

(3) In this ethnomethodological study, the researcher's practices have changed from those of a second language educator to those of an ethnomethodologist who seeks to understand the practices of the world which was once taken for granted. We consider this "journey" as crucial to the substantive and metholodogical processes at hand.

CHAPTER FOUR

Procedures

Introduction

The strength of a theory in the physical sciences is its ability to predict. Once a theory has been stated, experiments are undertaken to challenge its predictive powers and, thereby, to affirm or deny its status as a "worthy" theory. Experiments undertaken in this research can be literally described. The procedures and results are stated for everyone to see. Such experiments can be replicated to ascertain results and to validate methodology. Replication is possible because the conditions of the experiment can be controlled. Temperature, amount, etc. are not random variables. To the degree that some variables are uncontrollable or unpredictable, the science of statistics has taken as part of its programmatic the reduction of these effects and the control of variables. The more exact, i.e. literally describable, the field of science, the less statistics are needed since the world of physical science research deals with a stable, discrete and permanent world and since it follows the formal rules of logic and causal relationships, procedures, results and methodology of experiments can be replicated. By extension, normative research has endeavored to follow this model. However, the replicability of research studies has been severely criticized and successfully reported in studies such as Cicourel's (1973) *Theory and Method in a Study of Argentine Fertility*. By demonstrating the indexical nature of the terms used, Cicourel disproved the correlation which had been assumed between the terms used by the researcher and the subjects. In the social world which is neither stable, discrete nor permanent, literal descriptions and causal relationships are not available for quantification. (We would not deny, however, that for *members*, stability cause and effect are taken for granted. For example, Moerman's (1973) "The Use of Precedent in Natural Conversation" makes cause and effect available in the everyday world.)

The ethnomethodological concept of the social world, i.e. as an on-going accomplishment of members' practices, is available for study - but not by "fiat." Some aspects of research resemble the physical sciences in that they stress the *ordely* accomplishment of talk and social order. Such features of talk can be described free of context. They are transcontextual in nature. Like the rules of science they are available through discovery. Sacks et al.'s (1974) work on turn-taking and repair are prototypes of this genre of research. Even in these seminal studies, however, the researcher sought context sensitivity. Leiter (1980), in his discussion of this paradox, underlines the distinction as primarily an analytical one. He states:

> The implicit model of the factor [in Sacks et al.'s work] is ethnomethodological. The societal member produces the factual properties of conversation through a set of methods embedded in (i.e. part of) the phenomenon itself. Sacks et al's methods have the same reflexive relationship to conversations that accounting practices have to accounts.
>
> (1980:223)

Reflexivity also means that "context-free" and "context-sensitive" are interdependent. They do not exist as discrete entities.

This lengthy preamble serves to introduce the reader to the caveats on the concept of "procedures" as it is used in this research. The purpose of this study is to examine the reflexive and indexical nature of error, correction and context. These aspects are not amenable to quantification or replication. Furthermore, the intent is to make members' practices available. It is not to predict future actions nor to construct a replicable study or model. It is incumbent upon the researcher, however, to give an account of how the study was directed. This will allow the reader to see behind the mask of idealized research procedures to the collaboration between researcher and teacher on the choice of students, the understanding of the "type of student," etc. It will also clarify the impact of the pilot study on the methodological and substantive issues of the main study.

The reader will find, as he did in the preceding chapter, lapses which are related to the normative paradigm. For example, the initial choice of students for this study was made statistically, i.e. random choice statistics! The rationale was to have students of different "abilities." This method did not work. Many of the students simply did not know/like each other and therefore, had little, if anything, to say. It is conceivable that more time together might have changed this. However, time was one of the constraints under which the video recordings were done.

We will now describe the procedures for the pilot study and main study prior to the actual transcripts which will be provided for the reader's scrutiny.

I. Pilot Study

The substantive, theoretical and methodological issues dealt with in the pilot study were constructed from three sources. Firstly, several of the bilingual evaluation studies we had read dealt with the differences in performance on tests and in conversations. We have chosen the following quotation as representative of these observations:

> Even significant differences on such measures [those of linguistic competence], however, fail to do justice to the dramatic inadequacy of our immersion subjects in situations less structured than classroom recitation ... The overwhelming majority of students interviewed were unable to carry on anything resembling a conversation and answered the interviewer's questions in utterances ranging from monosyllabic to a phrase (in the technical sense) ... The fact, then, that our immersion subjects demonstrably have considerable knowledge of linguistic structures but an inability to use them in relatively unstructured situations leads us to distinguish their linguistic from functional or communicative competence.
>
> (Connors, Ménard and Singh, 1978:69)

Secondly, our interest in errors and error analysis had developed by reading the studies on "interlanguage" theory (Corder, 1974; Nemser, 1974; Richards, 1971; and Selinker, 1972). Finally, the ethnomethodological research of Schegloff et al. (1977) on error/repair raised serious doubts about the meaning of error and about the quantitative methodology used in the evaluation research and in error analysis.

The study was to address the following questions:

1. What errors do bilingual students make in French?
2. What situations do they "repair"?
3. Are the students aware of their own and others' errors in French, i.e. syntactical, morphological errors, etc.?
4. How does the informal situation effect the correction of errors?

We hypothesized that regardless of the situation, e.g. the absence of native speakers or teachers, errors would play a role in the social situation and the social situation would influence the understanding of errors. In our opinion - and this doubtless reflects members' practices - errors) of syntax, morphology, etc.) would be accepted. Their acceptance would be a sign of membership, of "fit." As less-than-competent second language speakers who formed a group, "students," they would not other-correct. Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) had indicated that other-correction appeared to take place between competent (correctors) and incompetent or "not-yet-competent." We reasoned that the majority of corrections would be self-corrections. Other-corrections would take place *only* to clarify meaning or to verify a statement. The curriculum leader was of the same opinion. Although our secondary elaborations of "why" correction would be rare, if not nonexistent were different, we both attributed the role of corrector to a "more competent" person - likely an adult - or at least a native speaker.

Mrs. B. chose four grade nine students from the late immersion program to collaborate in the study. The four girls were friends. Mrs. B. described them as "good kids" (in the top 10% for marks). The recording took place in the Bilingual Resource Room at Elboya. The girls were left on their own for approximately 15 minutes with a tape recorder running on the table in front of them. Their instructions were to have a conversation on any subject just as they would if speaking in English outside class. They were asked not to speak English. Students pointed out that they sometimes used English to "cue" a French word. We told them to use whatever tactics they wanted to, including a dictionary. They were to chat "comme d'habitude."

A second taping took place about two weeks later. We had hypothesized that the lack of other-correction would not be the result of a lack of knowing "correct grammar" but a result of membership in a group. Based on this hypothesis we had planned to interview the students individually, play back some errors on the tape and ask them for the grammatically correct form. The interview was designed without specific questions. We chose rather to "explore" areas, using student answers as a base for pursuing these specific areas of interest.

Having collected the data we were presented with an unexpected and overwhelming problem. The voices of the four girls were extremely difficult to distinguish on audio-tape. As the conversation was informal, the competition for turn-taking was aggressive. Furthermore the group of four occasionally became two dyads carrying on separate conversations. This did not facilitate transcription! We enlisted the help of several transcribers (all native speakers) and the students themselves also corrected them. We are still not satisfied with the accuracy of the transcripts!

The analysis, however, did prove to be insightful - and also disproved our own assumptions and hypotheses. The students were exceedingly vigilant in the correction of errors, both through self- and other-corrections. Self-correction remained preferred although other-correction was used extensively.

Some examples of the range of techniques and topics of repair will now be presented. Error/repair does not, as indicated previously, play the role of an adjacency pair. Errors of grammar and usage may be unperceived by both speaker and listener though the "error" exists in a normative sense. At other times, a speaker repairs his discourse for reasons unavailable to the listener. The problem that presents itself to an ethnomethodological researcher is how to locate clearly trouble sources and repair. Once the "repair" is heard, however, one can turn to Heap's (1980) reflexive warrant to identify the error. For example:

C Elle veut parler avec ... non, elle veut parler de l'Iran, n'est-ce pas?

C has used a sentence construction which necessitated a person. For example, "Elle veut parler *avec Pierre*." Her unmodulated correction: "Non, elle veut parler de *l'Iran*" can be heard as re-ordering and correcting of her initial utterance. She has now used "de" with "l'Iran" and the sentence is grammatically correct.

Self-correction was located in same turn, transition turn and subsequent turns. Students used a full range of initiator techniques.including pauses, cut-offs and English. Unfortunately, there was no video so we assume that these examples are self-initiated.

The following example shows a self-correction for meaning which takes place in a subsequent turn.

2.1

1	N	Je commence à parler à ma	(I start to speak to my mother
2		mère en anglais	In English.)
3	L	Moi, aussi, je parle à mes	(Me too, I speak to my parents
4		parents en français/	in French)
5	N	je veux	(I mean, in French)
6		dire, en français.	

L seems not to have heard N's "en anglais" as she starts her sentence with "moi, aussi." We do not known if N's self-repair is initiated by reflecting on her original sentence or by hearing L's accurate utterance. In any case, her correction now makes the sentence a reasonable one.

Correction for meaning or verification of a statement was very infrequent. Other-corrections of syntax and morphology were by far the most common topics. The following is an example.

2.2

1	K	Mes frères.../	(My brothers.../
2	S	mon frère/	my brother/
3	K	mon frère ... mon frère-j'ai	(my brother ... my brother-I have
4		seulement un frère.	only one brother.)

As the students are learning new forms, common-sense tells us that such corrections are reasonable. This situation may not exist between native speakers. It is curious to note that Schwartz's (1977) study refers to the negotiation for meaning as the outcome of repair. In the pilot study, repair addressed most often the correction of grammatical errors. The question of meaning did not appear to be a problem with the students. It was rare that meaning was obscured by grammatical errors.

1.1 Other-corrections were generally accomplished in the subsequent turn. For example:

2.3

1	N	J'étais ... hahaa ...	(I was ... hahaa ...
2		so embarrassed/	so embarrassed/
3	S?	embarassée/	embarrassed)
4	N	embarassée	(embarrassed)
5	S?	embarassée.	(embarrassed.)

N has signalled a word search by using English. S? has repaired the situation by supplying "embarassée." N then repeats the correction (line 4).

Many of the word searches and corrections were collaboratively accomplished. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon.

2.4

1	K	Oui, je pense que la conver-	(Yes, I think that the conver-
2		sation ... umh ↓	sation ... umh ↓
3	S_1?	ser-	will)
4	S_2?	je pense	(I think
5	S_3	oui	yes
6	K	[serait ↓ plus ...	[would be ↓ more ...
7		[plus différent	[more different
8	S_2	[sera	[will be

K initiates a word search by pausing and using "umh" (line 2). Various students (S_1, S_2, etc.) come to her assistance. S_1 supplies a possible verb "ser-" (line 3). S_2 joins in the search by saying "je pense ... sera" (lines 4 and 8) which both corrects S_1's "ser" and offers a second possibility to K. K has repaired her own sentence with the correct verb form "serait" (line 6) which is sanctioned by S_3 as correct, "oui."

2.5

1	N	Quelqu'un ici va à la danse?	(Anyone here going to the dance?)
2	S?	[Oui	[Yes
3	S?	[Oui	[Yes
4	L	je [va]	(I'm * going)
5	S?	[Je vais à la danse	(I'm going to the dance)
6		[Je vais	(I'm going)
7	S?	Je [va]	(I'm * going)
8	S?	Je vais à la danse.	(I'm going to the dance.)

What has happened in 2.5 is not unique of the repair in this project. N's question has been answered by L who has used [va] (line 4) which is incorrect. "Repetitions" of both the error and correction (cf. 2.3) occur almost like a chorus in which all four girls participate. Rather than the chorusing being just the correct form, both forms are heard. We do not "know" in any principle way, if the error is repeated as a form of correcting or if it is simply repeated, i.e. imitated. The phenomenon of imitation/repetition as part of children's discourse has been noted. It has not been - to our knowledge - found in the study of adolescents or adults.

Some of the other-corrections are unmodulated. Gaskill also noted this "tone" in his study. The following example is both unmodulated and an interruption:

2.6

1	N	C'est noir quand on ... le jeu	(It's dark where we ... the
2		de basketball ce mercredi est	basketball game this Wednesday
3		fini et t- /	(finished and you /
4	C	mercredi? /	Wednesday? /
5	N	mercredi passé/	(last Wednesday/
6	C	jeudi	Thursday
7	N	... jeudi passé.	(last Thursday.)

N is introducing an episode which occurred Wednesday. C interrupts with a modulated correction by repeating "mercredi" as a question (line 4). N insists but adds some precision ("mercredi passé"). C now corrects without modulation by stating "jeudi". N repeats "jeudi" and adds "passé."

For native speakers this would likely mean a disagreement. However, the laughter invitation/acceptance (Jefferson, 1974) serves to modulate the social dissonance.

After an initial listening to the tapes and reading the rough draft of the transcripts, we returned to discuss the results with Mrs. B. We were both aware of the results of a questionnaire given to late immersion students at the beginning of grade seven. The majority of students had made a joint decision with their parents to enroll. Some had made the decision on their own and very few had been enrolled by their parents alone. In retrospect, our "secondary elaborations" about the high number of corrections is a classic case of reflexivity! Given the new information on students' performance Mrs. B. speculated that the four girls were "some of the better students and they are so concerned about perfection." We agreed that, as late immersion students, their choice to learn French was "more conscious" and that therefore *correct* French was a high priority!

Although the original intent of the interview with individual students had been to determine their knowledge of correct French grammar and usage, we were curious to know if there was a "code" of correct French. By focusing on one segment of tape, we hoped to "produce the code." We were inspired by Weider's (1973) Convict's Code - Telling it like it is. (This decision meant that we did not answer some of the questions of the pilot study.)

The following is the segment of transcript played to the students:

2.7

1	N	Oui, j'étais née en Edmonton		(Yes, I • was born in Edmonton	
2		... hurrah! et ...		... hurrah! and	
3	C	J'étais née ici ...		(I • was born here)	
4	N	Tu, ah ...		(You, ah ...	
5	?	Non.		(No.)	
6	N	Oh, tu étais née ici et tu es		(Oh, you • were born here and you	
7		allée à Edmonton.		went to Edmonton.)	
8	L	Tsk, tsk. Tu es née/		(Tsk, tsk. You were born/	
9	N		Tu es née		You were born
10	C	On n'utilise jamais/		(You never use	
11	N		Oui, madame!	(Yes, ma'am!)	
		(laughter)			

N begins to explain that she was born in Edmonton. The verb form "j'étais née" is incorrect (line 1). C self-selects at the transition space with the same incorrect verb (line 3). N paraphrases C's statement for her (lines 6-7). By this time, L self-selects, clucking in disapproval, and offers the correct form "Tu es née." N affirms the correction by repeating it. C is not satisfied, however, and states - in rule format - "one never uses..." (line 10). N interrupts with "oui, madame." In listening to the tape, we heard the "oui, madame" as an ironic statement. The ensuing laughter and trills (or clucking sounds) seemed to confirm this interpretation. When asked about this segment N responded "elle [L] était comme une professeur." As a group, the student stated "nous étions comme les professeurs et tout devait être exacte."

In effect, N had indexed her reaction to L's (or the others') correction by referring to her as "madame" i.e. an adult or, as the students indicated, a teacher). She was being treated as a "student" that is someone who is, reflexively, expected to have everything exact. She was formulating how she felt about the scene.

This quotation and its embeddedness and the students "telling it like it is" reflexively and mutually create a reality of second language students and teachers. When students were asked how they felt when a friend corrected them, they were willing to elaborate on their code. K replied, "être corrigée, ça ne m'ennuie pas" (to be corrected doesn't bother me). C stated "je n'aime pas faire les fautes - je suis plein de gratitude" (I don't like to make errors, I am full of gratitude for corrections). N said "je ne suis pas gênée" (I am not embarassed).

The social reality of the students was made more obvious when they were asked why they corrected their friends - "pour les aider à apprendre" (to help them learn) and "aider nous tous corrigent" (it helps all of us correct). For self-correction, they consistently referred to the classroom model established by the teacher. They referred to "on est habitué de dire ... les conjugaisons en classe" (we are used to saying conjugations in class).

The final question to be answered by the pilot study dealt with the effect of context on informal talk and repair. We had taken context to be "out of class" and "no adults present." In effect, our concept of context left it as taken for granted. Context is much more subtle and, ultimately, it is unbounded. French is learned in classroom practice for these bilingual students. To remove them from the classroom did not remove the classroom from their talk or from their social reality which is that of second language students. For example, they referred to rules of grammar when correcting sentences.

The pilot study was critical to this study in several fundamental ways. Conversational analysis proved to be particularly fruitful. It situated error and repair as embedded practices in the informal talk of bilingual students. Other than the work of Schwartz (1977) and Gaskill (1977), no studies had dealt with the indexical and reflexive nature of these phenomena. Their studies were of adults. Studies dealing with adolescents have tended to be done in the classroom with a teacher correcting. Our teaching background biased our perceptions of correction; i.e. we tended to see it as the right of the teacher; conversational analysis made available a new understanding of the process. In fact it demanded a re-examination of "*teacher* correction of *student* error."

On the negative side, transcriptions from audio tapes pose a variety of problems: accuracy, intelligibility and the lack of visual cues. Some of these problems can be solved by using audio-visual tapes.

The analysis also raised a number of issues. Although "context-free" repair exists and can be identified - at least reflexively, the context impinges on what the researcher can identify. When is other-correction merely a clarification request? Is a clarification request part of the category of repair? Does laughter invite correction or modulated correction - or both? Hatch (1978:433) refers to chaos as "The most productive situation possible because it allows the search for new methodologies of which discourse analysis is 'one of the more promising'." Our experience confirms her statement.

The range of techniques and organizational features used by the students were as subtle, complex, and instantaneous as those described by Schegloff et al. (1977). This seems to point to the model of reality constructor. This model was at the apex of the study, not the level of language nor the knowledge of rules of grammar. The emergence of this model influenced the main study substantively and theoretically.

The pilot project also contributed substantially to the development of this study. Firstly, we considered error to be a "trouble source" and "repair" the work which was undertaken to right the trouble source. Once this phenomenon is embedded in talk, it loses its inert and stable traits assumed in error analysis. Identifying and categorizing errors are highly problematic tasks once interactional context is included in the analysis. Secondly Schegloff et al. (1977) had shown that repair is a necessary and on-going process in the construction of meaning and communication in native speakers. In our data, second language learners availed themselves of the same resources to repair conversations. Their less-than-complete mastery did not appear to inhibit repair although they likely repair syntax and vocabulary more than native speakers.

Several questions were left unanswered, however. In the evaluations of bilingual students referred to, the evaluators commented on the discrepancy between the performance on tests and in casual conversation. Since our data showed the students hard at work producing accurate French, we had no answers for *why* this discrepancy existed. Schegloff et al. had hinted that other-correction more frequently occurs between a competent and a less-than-competent speaker. Does this mean that other-correction would occur more frequently when a native speaker or a teacher is present? Does this explain the superior performance on tests? We have shown that the conceptualization of the pilot study depended to some extent on the members' practices among second language teachers of whom we are members. In teaching, the right of correction belongs to the teacher. It is a part of the task at hand, i.e. the teaching of *correct* information, theories, etc. In the pilot study the underlying assumption and - to use Mehan's (1975) analysis of realities - the incorrigible proposition was that students would not other-correct unless meaning was obscured, The analysis brought about a change in our understanding of error/repair, context and members' (students') practices. It also left questions unanswered about the testing situation. In summary, this study is indebted to the ethnomethodological concepts of indexicality, reflexivity and to the methodology of conversational analysis.

II. The Object of this Study

To reiterate, this study took as its topic the indexical nature of error/repair as *heard* in the talk of grade nine bilingual students. It was concerned with an exploration of the reflexive nature of context and error/repair in two different contexts: oral tests and informal peer conversation.

Context is, in principle, unbounded. For the practical purposes of this study, however, we isolated several aspects of context. Firstly, we considered turn-taking as a model for conversation (Sacks et al., 1974). In the Oral Test, turn-taking is rigidly controlled. The interviewer asks a question, the student answers, the interviewer asks a second question. Students are occasionally requested to ask a question, but, essentially, this right belongs to the interviewer. In any case, the interviewer can be heard to delegate the right to ask questions. On rare occasions the student may self-select and ask that a question be repeated or he may simply state, "Je ne comprend pas," which, under most circumstances, means that the interviewer will repeat the question. It is to be noted that the test item repeated is exactly the same as the original and that it cannot be repeated more than once. In informal conversation, turn-taking is not predetermined. The speaker may follow the rules of conversation to self-select or select the next speaker. A second speaker may also "bid" for a turn at talk. Some conversations are marked by the highly competitive nature of the bidding for a turn. In the pilot study, for example, turn-taking was highly contested.

The length of talk in each turn may also be undetermined as in conversation or predetermined as in debates. However, in a testing situation, the students can be heard to orient the question as it pertains to the test picture. They do not tend to extrapolate and, in general, give one sentence answers. These answers do not form the basis of a conversation. In principle, students receive no feedback on their answers. In the Oral Test, all but 9 questions of the 50 are based on the cartoon-like pictures provided. In informal conversation the length of talk varies greatly from one speaker to the next. In the case of a question/response, the response and the question are an integral part of the ongoing conversation. Feedback - in terms of correction, comment, reformulation, etc. - is an ongoing phenomenon. Unlike the test in which grammatical knowledge is foregrounded, sustaining the flow of meaning through any number of member practices is of prime importance.

We have alluded to the role of laughter in the pilot study in which it was so predominant. The analysis was based on an invitation/acceptance or rejection, i.e. adjacency pairs (Jefferson, 1974). We have already discussed the social, embedded nature of talk. An invitation/acceptance format has certain social consequences. This is obvious in the peer conversations where the invitation is rarely, if ever, rejected. In the test situation, however, student laughter (invitation) is rarely accepted by the examined. Laughter on tests can be heard as "nervous" because, reflexively, it is not accepted.

Although it is not within the analysis of this study to treat topic, the topics chosen by the students which are drawn from their stock of common knowledge serve as a background feature which ensures a high level of understanding and shared meaning.

Secondly, we considered the context from the point of view of membership. The test situation is between *adult* and *student*. The adult is a competent native speaker; the student a "not-yet-competent." This can be heard in a principled way as the native speaker speaks a form of "foreignese," comments on answers, etc. For the peer conversation, the native speaker or competent adult was not present. In the pilot study the students were all from the late immersion program and in the top 10% of the class (personal communication with Mrs. B.). It seemed that we might arbitrarily change context by placing students from both programs together. In theory, continuing bilingual students with nine years of schooling in French have better speaking skills than the late immersion students with three years. It also seemed reasonable to vary the students to include those whom teachers deemed "average students." For this reason, three homogeneous groups were set up: 3 late immersion boys, 3 late immersion girls and 3 continuing bilingual students. These students represented a full gamut of abilities (or to be more precise marks). The fourth group included 1 continuing bilingual girl and 2 late immersion students (boy and girl). All the students were placed in a group with friends or at least people they talked with regularly. This was a crucial consideration as the videotaping took place after the oral exams which were given at the end of May. Little time was available for retaping in both real terms and out of consideration for the year-end activities of the school. Furthermore, the video camera was both a blessing and a curse. It was invaluable in discerning who was talking for the transcripts. It did however contribute to the artificiality of the situation. Students were visibly aware of the camera for the first part of the taping. The tape recorder which was less visible and to which the students were probably more accustomed did not appear to pose the same problems.

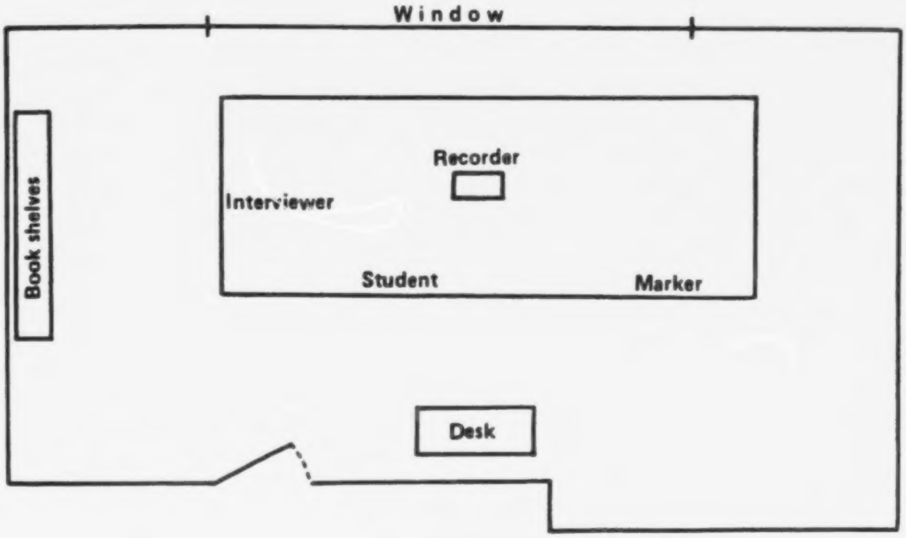
A. *Oral Test Procedures*

The Calgary Board of Education chose the interviewers for the Oral Test. They followed the recommendations of the test authors by choosing two native speakers. This is recommended for several reasons. Firstly, two examiners allow greater flexibility and concentration. While one person conducts the test, the other marks. They can then discuss marking procedures, vary interviewers, etc. Since one of the criteria for a correct answer is "information appropriée" or "toute réponse plausible, i.e. toute réponse utilisée par un francophone doit être acceptée," it follows that native speakers are most able to judge the appropriateness of any given answer. Mrs. Han is an elementary teacher in the bilingual program with many years experience. At the time of the testing she was on leave, completing a Master's degree in French literature. Mrs. Hac is also in the elementary bilingual program. She was on sabbatical, completing a Master's in French as well. Both teachers are well-familiarized with the bilingual program and students. Their sensitivity to pacing and pronunciation is hearable on the tapes as is their sympathy for students.

The testing took place in the Bilingual Resource Room, a sunny, north-facing room about 20' by 15'. The two testers were seated at a table, the small portable record player between them. The student sat between them. The Test Book is designed so that the student can see the pictures and the interviewer can read the questions.

The tape recorder used is a JVC with a directional microphone and stereo recording. Sony LNX60 tapes were used with one student's test on each side. The tapes were numbered in order of appearance. Students were called down for the test.

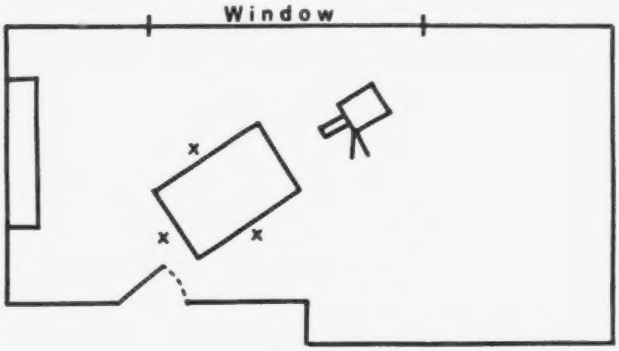
All students in both programs were tested and recorded. Once the small informal groups were chosen, their test recordings were selected for analysis. This was done for practical purposes. Firstly, there was the question of how to handle data from 68 tapes. Since the study is concentrating on *two* contexts, the plethora of information from all 68 tapes seemed excessive. Secondly, the students exhibited some similar speech characteristics in both situations. R, for example, was a fairly hesitant speaker both during the test and in the informal talk. On the other hand, A, who had been very articulate (using the "-umh" and self-correcting less than R) had a far less fluent "débit" during the test. No endeavour was made to correlate "errors" in transcripts.



B. *Informal Talk*

Mrs. B. selected the students for the groups of three. She also contacted parents for consent to tape the students. As we had agreed, she chose students who were fairly "conversational," i.e. they knew each other and had interests in common. They were chosen across ability ratings and average marks.

The video taping took place in the Bilingual Resource Room. Students were seated around a small table. A Sony Betamax was used for filming. BASF L 500 tape was used.



Students were asked to speak for 15 minutes using no English, on topics of their choice. They were willing to co-operate, although somewhat nervous about being filmed. Whenever possible, the camera was running when they entered the room. This allowed them to see a small clip of their "performance" before the actual recording which was used.

To assist the reader, we will give a small thumbnail sketch of each group of students as they were described by their teachers. This will give some insight into the group and highlight how the dynamics of conversation vary.

Group 1 - Late Immersion (Boys)

These three boys have a reputation for enjoying arguing. Their talk proceeded much like a debate with only a few occasions of interruption and competition for turn-taking.

G is a strong math and science student; his skills in French are considered weak although he is argumentative in class.
K is a strong student in French.
B is from a Dutch background; of the three boys his French is the strongest.

Group 2 - Late Immersion (Girls)

The girl's conversation was not as consistent in topic or organization as the late immersion boys. It was also marked by more laughter and competition for turns.

L is an excellent student in French.
M is considered a good student but not a good discussant.
N is an average student, getting marks in the 50's in French.

Group 3 - Continuing Bilingual

The two boys in the group who were chosen by Mrs. B. asked to have A (a girl) as their member. Their conversation did not involve much competition for turn-taking and did include laughter. A was "aggressive" in that she would interrupt and/or contradict.

D is a continuing bilingual student who is considered weak in some of his French skills. He takes some classes with the late immersion program.
J, although better than D, is considered to be just average.
A is the strongest of the three in French skills.

Group 4 - Mixed Continuing Bilingual and Late Immersion

This group was characterized, at different points, by a dyad - the two girls and a listener, R. Toward the end of the tape, the girls, by questioning R brought him into the talk. There was little competition for turn-taking.

L is a very strong student (late immersion) in French.
K is also very strong in French (continuing bilingual).
R is an average student in French (late immersion).

These ethnographic remarks will perhaps assist the reader in imagining the nature of the talk and the type of student. They will also serve as introduction to the more detailed analysis to follow in Chapter Five.

C. *Transcriptions*

Although we have referred to the problem of transcripts at various point throughout this study, it seems appropriate to treat transcripts in a principled manner at this point. All the study transcripts were done by Mrs. B., who had assisted us at the school. Transcriptions, particularly of informal talk, require someone of great patience and tenacity. Informal talk or unplanned discourse presents great difficulties to the transcriber because of its unpredictable nature. The use of video tape is of great assistance. This cannot be underestimated when the tapes are of young voices which are practically indistinguishable.

The accuracy of the written work is open to question. Although words, pauses, ums and ahs are down on paper, the written work is an artifact of the vibrant and rich interaction of voices. Among native speakers the questions of pronunciations, intonation, stress, etc. are difficult to capture. In second language learners' talk they are even more elusive. Small errors in pronunciation and slightly deviant intonation could possibly be captured by using phonetic script (Webster's New World Dictionary, 1976). However, one must question the pursuit of accuracy at any cost. What does remain - as a principled problem - is the degree of accuracy *essential* to a thorough analysis. We solved this by including phonetics where pronunciation "flagged" a grammatical error. For example:

(1)

I_1	Qu'est-ce que Pierre doit faire avant de regarder la télévision ce soir?	(What does Pierre have to do before watching television this evening?)
C	Pierre [*dwav*] étudier avant de regarder la télévision ce soir.	(Pierre [must] study before watching television this evening.)

When students presented candidate pronunciations for correction, phonetics are also used. The following is an example:

(2)

J	de pente et choses comme ça et les [*bus*] et [*bos*]—[*bus*] /	(slopes and things like that and the * moguls and moguls-*moguls
C	[*bos*]	(moguls)
J	il y a les [*bos*] et, ah, les pentes ...	(there are the moguls and, ah, the slopes).

In this study, data were collected by audio tape (tests) and video tape (informal talk). It is undeniable that the visual aspect influences our understanding of error/repair. On the video tape students can be observed as they initiated correction by eye contact. Although the video tape was used basically for the transcripts and an audio tape made for our analyses, it influenced our understanding of the group process. This is a biasing factor which must be openly declared. It is regrettable that the test could not be video taped. However, to add another "barrier" problem to the students' final exam was not desirable. Students were too unfamiliar with being filmed.

Finally, the interpretation of any transcript is problematic. We do not know what has gone on in the minds of the speakers and hearers. Our analyses must deal with the data before us. In ethnomethodological research, data are presented so that readers may question, refute or verify the interpretations given. In this principled manner ethnomethodology is part of the scientific paradigm which invites other researchers to analyze data and to interpret it.

The reader will find the key for the transcripts in Appendix I. We have also paraphrased the transcripts in English to facilitate any problems the reader might encounter in French. Our paraphrasing is intended to give the colloquial English equivalents. Where the translation of an error in French is impossible without an extensive grammatical explanation, we have marked the English with an asterisk. For example, "je va" is the incorrect form of "aller." We have shown this by "I am going*." If a student uses a wrong word, it is retained in English but in square parenthesis. For example, "Il dit les menteurs" is translated as "He says [liars]." The student's probable intention, i.e. lies, is not given in the paraphrasing.

D. *Method of Analysis*

The method used to analyze data in constitutive studies has been termed "exhaustive data treatment" (Mehan, 1978:37). It relies on the retrievability of data and on the analysis of the *entire* course of interaction among the participants. This mode of analysis represents a shift in policy from the analyses which searched for recurring forms of behaviour and then provided exemplary cases to support the hypotheses of a study. Exhaustive data treatment deals with the continuous flow of activity as depicted on tape or video tape. In so doing, the researcher is obliged to deal with all his data and some hypotheses are necessarily defeated. Furthermore, the data are available for criticism and re-interpretation.

Mehan points out that the analysis continues until "a small set of recursive rules" or a "grammar" is produced. The exhaustive treatment of data undertaken by Sacks and his colleagues has produced two such sets of rules: turn-taking and repair. We began our analyses by using the context-free features of turn-taking to document how turn-taking is negotiated in each interaction. We were able to choose excerpts (in Chapter Five) to show the "style" of talk. We then began a second process of "sifting" through the myriad of phenomena to locate how repair was accomplished in student practices. In so doing we were able to describe the contextual accomplishment of repair: it is defined by context (in this instance turn-taking) and in turn, influences context. In the process of exhaustive data treatment, hypotheses are often revised. It also provides a necessary and vital check "against the tendency to seek only evidence that supports the researchers' orienting hypotheses or domain assumptions" (Mehan, 1978 :37).

In this chapter we have given the reader an account of the pilot project and how it contributed to both the development of this study and the commitment to conversational analysis as a methodology. We have also outlined the "procedures" and the problems inherent in the gathering and transcribing of data for an ethnomethodological study. The stage is now set for the reader to enter the contexts and the interactional reality of the student as they are hearable and accountable in the transcripts.

CHAPTER FIVE

Analyses

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the analyses of the students' talk in the contexts of oral tests and peer conversations. As this chapter is the apex of the study we would like to recall briefly the salient features of context and error/repair as they will be used in the analyses.

I. Context

In his discussion of meaning, Coulter states that it is dependent on context. However, he emphasizes that context cannot be codified so that specific conditions have specific meaning. Context is indeterminant and can be elaborated upon indefinitely. For example, we have referred to *late immersion* students. It is not possible to codify all the features of that program and correlate them with the interaction of late immersion students. The term is a gloss, a means of distinguishing one group from others. In a similar fashion, peer, continuing bilingual, good kids, etc. do not have a unidimensional relationship to specific features of the context, We repeat that the vagueness of language and context present few problems to the co-participants. For the researcher, however, context is a problem. He is not a part of the interaction. His own context impinges on the interaction he is analyzing. To avoid the pitfalls of hypothesizing and extrapolating, conversational analysis proposes certain *context-free* features of talk. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) identified turn-taking as a basic structure of all talk. Their concern was to show also that turn-taking is sensitive to context. We have chosen turn-taking as one of the features of context as it illustrates clearly the differences between the Oral Test, i.e. preallocated turns and conversations, i.e. negotiations for turns. It also facilitates our analysis of and understanding of participant structures. For example, we can show *how* the turns at talk are influenced by the right of the interviewer to ask questions.

Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) published a second study of language in which they analyzed the phenomenon of error/repair. They broadened the meaning of error to include trouble sources. A trouble source includes errors or mistakes, breaks in communication such as word searches and trouble sources which the speaker corrects as he speaks and which cannot be heard by the listener. The meaning of correction as the replacement of a mistake is obviously not up to the task of righting the trouble source. Schegloff et al. (1977) refer to the righting of a trouble source as *repair*. Error/repair can be located in terms of organizational features and initiator techniques. There is a preference for self-repair, self-initiated in the same turn at talk.

For example: M "Le garçon que je danse avec ... um ... avec qui je danse." The student, M, realizes her error within her turn at talk. She initiates the correction by" ... um" and self-corrects within the turn - a self-initiated repair may take place in the subsequent turn also. Some self-initiated repairs are repaired by other speakers. These often take several turns to complete. For example

3.1

1	A	— uh — le dîner n'est —	(The supper is not —
2		n'étais pas — uh —	was not ... uh ...
3	J	excellent	excellent
4	A	excellent	(excellent).

A is searching for a word, she initiates the search by pausing and using "uh." J, in the subsequent turn, supplies "excellent." A repeats and in so doing confirms his repair "excellent." To instigate word searches, many techniques may be used such as an English word, a formal request for help, a long pause, etc.

Other-initiated corrections are normally modulated by asking them as a question. They tend not to occur during the talk of the speaker. When they are unmodulated they can be heard as disagreements, although Gaskill (1977) notes that unmodulated correction occurs more frequently in second language conversations.

The organizational features and initiator techniques constitute the part of their analysis which is context-free. Repair is also context-sensitive. They suggest that other-repair occurs more frequently in parent-child and teacher-student interaction.

We have alluded to Heap's (1979) critique of repair in Chapter Two. Our data support his claim that other-initiations look to be questions which he characterizes as requests for clarification or elaboration or restatement to be answered necessarily by the speaker. For example:

3.2

L	Mais tu as dit que tu as	(But you said that you lived
	vécu en Europe aussi?	in Europe too?)
N	*Je ne vivais pas là, je suis*	(I didn't live there, I went
	allée là —	there.)

L's question is an endeavour to clarify her understanding of what N has done. N elaborates on her statement to explain that she went to Europe. Similarly, B's question about Steve is actually requesting more information.

3.3

K	oké, je — Steve m'a dit ça	(okay, I — Steve told me that
	ce matin et tu sais/	this morning and you know/
B	C'est qui, Steve?	(Who's Steve?)
K	Steve B.	(Steve B.)

According to Heap, other-corrections are made when both speakers have "equal access" to the question at hand. In our data, the common ground often appears to be correct French usage.

3.4

N hahah elle pense qu'elle est
le mère
M la mère
L hahah
N la mère.

N has used the wrong gender, L. initiates and corrects the errror "la mère." There is no modulation in the correction but it does not lead to disagreement. In effect, none is possible, "mère" is feminine.

Although these students use a second language to communicate they have *member* status. Sacks and Garfinkel (1970) refer to *member* as having mastery of natural language. They specify that "... persons ... *somehow* are heard to be engaged in the objective production and objective display of common-sense knowledge of everyday activities as observable and reportable phenomena" (p. 342). Students can be heard to draw on a stock of shared knowledge and to engage in the formal structures of formulating, explicating, clarifying, etc. in peer conversations.

In summary, each interaction presents both context-free features and its own unique, created interactional context. We will analyze the context-free aspects of talk and endeavour to demonstrate the tightly interwoven relationships of these concepts as they are accomplished by each group of participants.

We spoke of the problems and advantages inherent in discourse analysis in Chapter Four. However, nothing can prepare the researcher for the exceedingly difficult task of choosing *which part* of a conversation and *how much* to include for the reader. The researcher reflexively constructs a reality for the conversation and as he analyzes the "flow" of talk, he becomes aware of its essential integrity. Although all transcripts are available to the reader, for the purposes of this thesis, choices had to be made. The transcripts chosen typify, within limits, the style of conversation of the group. They allow, therefore, some comparisons to be made.

II. The Student Reality

The negotiation for meaning which Schwartz (1977) identified in her second language learners rarely happens between these students. They have spent as least three years together in the same school and the same program. It is common-sense to assume that they have a range of shared experiences. These shared experiences are *hearable*, i.e. they are the topics of conversation. It is not within the limits of this thesis to discuss topic but we are aware of the dangers of using talk (in this case, topics) as a resource. For this reason we will go beyond listing topics to examine, in the data, *how* students construct meaning withing different domains.

Schutz (1964) states that the world is experienced in terms of types. The sum total of these various typifications constitutes a frame of rererence for the sociocultural and physical world of a collectivity. Within any group there is acceptance of kinships, age, hierarchies, ceremonies, etc. which Schutz calls "folkways." These "folkways" exist in the student reality as well. For example, kinship are perceived in a similar manner among the groups.

3.5

1	A	oui, quel âge a-t-elle?	(yes, how old is she?)
2	D	vingt-quatre ou vingt-cinq	(twenty-four or twenty-five)
3	A	ah	(ah)
4	J	quelque chose comme ça	(something like that)
5	A	hahah	
6	D	Oui, quelque chose comme ça.	(Yes, something like that.)

D and J have both talked about older sisters and their "problems" with them. D's statement that his sister is *approximately* 24 or 25 years old, is met by J's paraphrase "quelque chose comme ça" (something like that). A joins in the laughter and D repeats "oui, quelque chose comme ça." Garfinkel (1967), in his discussion of Schutz, describes the reciprocity of perspectives as a situation in which the backgrounded feature would be the same for each - if positions were exchanged. J and D, referring to D's sister's age - and by extension J's sister - have foregrounded the reciprocity of perspectives. They are in agreement about the interest shown in older siblings.

Similarly, in their discussion of other groups of students, meaning is accomplished without the use of words. The typifications which are part of their stock of knowledge exist for all members.

3.6

1	N	Je ne comprends pas les grades	(I don't understand the grade
2		sept cette année — ils	seven this year — they
3		sont — /	are —
4	L	I know	(I know)
5	M	oui	(yes)
6	N	hahah	(hahah)
7	L	Je suis	(I am)
8	N	hahah	(hahah)
9	L	haha	
10	N	prolonged laughter	
11	M		

In talking about the grade sevens, N pauses (line 2). In general, such a pause would initiate a word search. However, L simply says "I know" (line 3). M agrees (line 4) and they join in laughter. We can hear them agreeing to understanding M's reference *without* either supplying a word in French or English.

The ceremonies and rituals at the end of grade nine, i.e. examinations and graduation as well as the initiation ceremonies of grade ten are part of the taken-for-granted world. The occurrence of overlap or of simultaneous production of terms permits the observer/reader to hear *how* students foreground this knowledge and to hear that it is shared.

3.7

1	J	uh — je pense que l'examen de	(uh — I think that the [language]
2		langage va être f acile	exam is going to be easy
3	A	facile,	easy,
4		moi aussi.	(me too.)

J introduces the language as "facile." A's "facile" is produced almost simultaneously. In the following example, they produce their knowledge of the examination timetable.

3.8

1	N	Je n'aime pas l'école. Je	(I don't like school. I
2		sais — uh — les examens on a —	know — uh — the exams we have —
3		on a l'examen d'études sociales	we have the social studies exam
4		et l'examen [de math	and the [math exam
5	L	[de mathématiques	[mathematics
6	N	de mathématiques le même	(mathematics the same day.)
7		journée.	

N has brought up the problem associated with the social studies exam. We can hear L foreground the knowledge of exam timetables as she supplies, spontaneously and simultaneously "de mathématiques." N, however, hears "mathématiques" as a correction and repeats the word. Thus what can be heard as an overlap can also be heard, reflexively, as a correction, although the term "math" is also acceptable.

This example serves to demonstrate the problem of indexicality in the research on errors. Is this an other-initiated other-correction? Or is it a case of simultaneous production/repeat? The possibility that it can be both for the researcher is not a problem in ethnomethodology. The example will not be categorized, nor will the intentions of the speaker be hypothesized. Conversational analysis and ethnomethodology *free* language from the constraints of quantification and, in so doing, expose its inherent ambiguities.

These selected pieces of student dialogue are merely "tourist samplings" that may assist the reader to imagine the rich, interwoven nature of the students' social world. They suggest the reflexive nature of the stock of knowledge and repair. Repair may be successful, i.e. meaning may be clear without recourse to words.

We will now elucidate the concepts of turn-taking, participant structure and repair as they are constituted in each group.

III. Turn-Taking, Participant Structures and Repair in Peer Conversation

A. *Late immersion - Boys*

In their discussion of turn-taking Sacks et al. (1974) state that "a turn's talk will be heard as directed to a prior turn's talk, unless special techniques are used to locate some other talk to which it is directed" (p. 728). After a short exchange about when classes were ending, this group began a discussion *cum* argument on the theories of evolution. G formulated the talk by recalling their arguments in grade eight about "comment l'universe était devenu." In the subsequent turns which can be described as semi-formal debating, K and B foreground this topic. Each boy has some extended turns at talk. Although these lengthy turns are fairly evenly distributed, the turn-taking does display the bias described by Sacks et al. (1974:708) "... [the] speaker just prior to current speaker [is] selected as next speaker." The following example shows this pattern of turn-taking:

K
G
K
G
B - (self-selects but is cut off)
K

K
B - (self-selects but is cut off)
K
B
K
B
K

In this segment K has the greatest number of turns. This is, of course, open to recipient design. Often B is defending his theories and has both longer and more frequent turns. The competition for turn-taking rarely involves two people talking at once. However, both competition for and maintenance of turn at talk can be fierce as the following illustrates:

7.1

1	B	Et aussi ah ah vous souven-tu	(And also-ah-ah-[you remem]-you
2		te souviens que ce que Louis	remember what Louis Pasteur
3		Pasteur a..découvert?	discovered?)
4	G	[Oui.	[Yes.
5	B	[Que...	[That...
6	K	[Oui.	[Yes.
7	B	Que une chose qui est, ah, qui	(That a thing which is, ah, which
8		est non-vivant ne peut pas	is non-living cannot become
9		devenir vivant parce que-si on-	living because if you ... that's
10		c'est pour pourquoi on pasteu-	wh-why you pasteurize things, ah,
11		rise des choses, ah dans disons	in, let's say a hospital.
12		un hôpital./	
13	G	[Ké/	(Okay?)
14	K	[uh/	(uh)
15	B	Un moment,	(A minute, a minute)
16	B	C'est dans si eh si une chose	(Ut's in if, eh, if a thing that's
17		qui est vivant...peut... ah...	living...can... ah...produce it-
18		se produire d'un chose qui ah	self from a thing that ah isn't
19		n'est pas vivant donc la pas-	living therefore pasteurization
20		teurisation est...ah...ne vaut	is...ah...is worth nothing be-
21		rien parce que c'est ah parce	cause it is- ah-because you [can]
22		qu'on pouvoir-pouvait avoir des	-could have some-ah- some
23		ah des microbes qui se	microbes that make themselves-ah-
24		formaient ah sous ces-dans	under these in these things
25		ces choses qui c'étaient-qui-	that were, were...
26		étaient...	

B has introduced the work of Pasteur - both G and K agree in the transition turn (lines 4 and 6). B continues his discussion of Pasteur's theories (lines 7-12) when both G and K interrupt. G in particular can be heard to self-select. B is however quite assertive and maintains his right to complete his turn by cutting them off, "Un moment, un moment" (line 15).

The repair done by the three boys is predominantly self-initiated self-correction within the same turn.

7.2

1	G	Le Dieu a crée-uh-l'homme d'	(God created-uh-man after Him-
2		après Lui, d'après son image.	self, in his image.)

In this example H has self-corrected when, for the listener, there has been no trouble source. We can hypothesize that the noun phrase is in some way "stronger" and lends itself better to the following argument on man's lack of perfection. However, we cannot *know* this in any principled manner. The speaker's intentions/motives are not available to us. A large number of self-initiated self-corrections are accomplished to re-order a sentence as the following example illustrates:

7.3

1	B	C'est dans- si-uh-si un chose	(It's in-if-uh-if a thing that is
2		qui est vivant...peut...uh-se	living...can...uh-produce itself
3		produire d'un chose qui -uh-	from a thing that-uh-isn't
4		n'est pas vivant donc la pasteu-	living therefore pasteuriza-
5		risation est...uh...ne vaut rien	tion is...uh...is worth nothing
6		parce que-c'est-uh-parce qu'on	because its-uh-because you
7		pouvoir — pouvait avoir-uh-des	[can] could have-uh-microbes
8		microbes qui se formaient-uh-	that make themselves-uh-under
9		sous ces...dans ces choses qui	these...in these things [which
10		c'étaient - qui étaient-uh	were] which were-uh-
11		pasteurisées.	pasteurized.)

B has begun with "c'est dans-," re-orders his sentence to begin with "si [un] chose ..." and concludes "donc la pasteurisation est -." He is searching for a negative statement, re-orders by changing the sentence to "ne vaut rien." The sentence contains two more self-initiated self-corrections: "sous ces - dans ces choses" and "qui c'étaient - qui étaient." To categorize the first self-corrections as dealing with grammar or word searches is extremely difficult. We cannot know why B used "sous" and then changed to "dans." It may be a word search, a "slip of the tongue" or an example of the retrospective/prospective work undertaken in conversation. The second example is heard to be a correction. "Qui c'étaient" is grammatically wrong. "Qui étaient" can be heard, reflexively, to replace the error.

B's turn in this last example is an excellent demonstration of how sentential structure may ensure a turn at talk. He uses subordinate clauses (qui-) and "parce que" rather than ending the sentence.

There are also clarification requests and word searches which "interrupt" the semi-debating style but which are not heard as competition for turn-taking.

7.4

[G	Oui, mais	[Yes, but
[K	Oui, mais	[Yes, but
K	Oké,...je — Steve m'a dit ça	(Okay,...I — Steve told me that
	ce matin et tu sais/	this morning and you know/
B	c'est	it's
	qui, Steve?	(who, Steve?)
K	Steve Broscoe.	(Steve Broscoe.)
B	Oh, oui	(Oh, yes)
K	Dans le livre des Genesis...	(In the book of Genesis...)

B has requested clarification about "Steve." K supplies him with the last name and resumes his turn.

There are few word searches which are terminated by other-correction. In this respect, the boys' repair differs from the pilot project. In the pilot project, word searches were generally accomplished in collaboration and the candidate word was repeated.

Heap (1979) has pointed out that other-initiated other-corrections are based on "equal access to the affair judged about." This is also true for second language speakers. However, there is a significant from native speakers. The "affair" is often correct grammar, vocabulary or pronunciation of the second language. In the following example, B corrects G's pronunciation by offering the correct French pronunciation.

7.5

G	Ké, donc l'année du-uh-Pluto-	(Okay, therefore the year on-uh-
	uh comme exemple/	[Pluto]-uh for example
B	du Pluton	on Pluto
G	est presque trois cents de	(is nearly three hundred of our
	nos années.	years.)

It is improbable that G has initiated the correction by using English (a common initiator technique) as he completes his sentence without acknowledging or repeating the corrected pronunciation. B has initiated and corrected the error.

In the next example in which we hear a self-initiated correction, the other-correction and the self-correction appear simultaneously, although both are incorrect!

7.6

1	K	Peut-être le météorite avait	(Perhaps the meteorite had
2		quelques cellules de —	several cells
3		du végétation	of vegetation
4	G	du	of

It seems reasonable to understand the strong dominance of self-initiated self-correction to be contextually related to the semi-debating style of this group. Interruptions and collaborative word searches are relatively few. What is foregrounded is the topic - evolution. Within the turn at talk, the boys correct, re-order and search for words with minimal other-involvement. The rights of participation as heard in amount of talk are divided although G and K are pitted against B, who, to defend his position, has somewhat more turns.

B. *Late Immersion - Girls*

By sharp contrast, the three grils in late immersion sustain a conversation which is marked by collaborative word searches, interruptions, laughter and a diversity of topics.

8.1

1	N	ah-l'année prochaine on va ...	(ah-next year we're going ...
2		(sigh) des bébés encore	(sigh) babies again)
3	M	( )	( )
4	L	(haha)	(haha)
5	M	ah frosh	ah frosh
6	N	shhh je ne veux pas/	shhh I don't want/
7	L	ah.	ah
8	L	Non, non	(no, no, they don't [want] to
9		ils ne vont pas faire — parce	do — because at Western, it's
10		qu'à Western, c'est très-uh-	very-uh-they're very severe/
11		ils sont très sévères/	
12	N	oui/	(yes/
13	L	il y	(there's no...initiation/
14		pas de...initiation/	
15	N	froshing	froshing
16	L	froshing.	(froshing.)
17	L		
18	N	hahah.	(hahah.)
19	M		
20	L	/il n'y a pas parce que	(/there isn't because I speak to
21		je parle aux personnes qui	people who go to Henry Wise Wood
22		vont à Henry Wise Wood et des	and other-uh schools.../
23		autres...uh écoles .../	
24	N	hahah/	(hahah/
25	L	uh	uh
26		de senior high/	(from [senior high])
27	N	secondaires	(secondary)
28	L	secondaires, oui	(secondary, yes)
29	N	Est-ce que c'est secondaire?	(Is it secondary?)
30	L	Je ne sais pas	(I don't know)
31	M	Oui	(Yes)
32	L	élémentaires, qu'est-ce qu'	(elementary, what do you)
33		on/	
34	N	hahah	(hahah)
35	M	hahah	(hahah)

36	L	Et, uh, ils ont dit qu'à	(And, uh, they said that at
37		Western, il n'y a presque rien	Western, there is almost nothing
38		de — qu'il n'y a presque	-that there is hardly)
39		pas [de	[any
40	N	[oh, je comprends	[oh, I understand)
41	L	de —	(of —)
42	M	ah, c'est bien	(ah, that's good)
43	N	Mon frère est si peur que/	(My brother [is] so afraid that/
44	L	uhhuh	(uhhuh)
45		parce qu'on vit près de	(because we live near Henry Wise
46		Henry Wise Wood.	Wood.)

N can be heard to introduce the topic of next year and their status as "bébés." This is met with laughter by L and M. There is a general brouhaha (lines 3-7) of laughter, comments and ah's. L self-selects and begins the discussion of froshing in different schools. N self-selects at the transition space (line 12) to agree. L's word search initiated by English is "corrected" by N who supplied another English word which L repeats. (In general during this conversation, candidate words or corrections are repeated.) There is another chorus of laughter which appears to be simultaneous. L continues her turn in line 20. The word search is initiated by a pause, N answers with laughter which is rejected. L now initiates the word search by using English "senior high," N offers a candidate repair "secondaire" which L repeats. N (line 29) then formulates the word search by asking for verification of her candidate repair. This formulation both states the presence of a word search and reflexively asks for another candidate word or a verification of "secondaire." L reiterates what has been obvious, "je ne sais pas" and begins a "vocabulary check" by referring to "élémentaire." She is interrupted by laughter but continues her turn in line 36. The next interruption - N's "je comprends" - terminates L's turn by indicating that the shares the same knowledge about Western's froshing rules. N maintains her turn by discussing Henry Wise Wood's froshing.

The context as can be heard in turn-taking in this group is reflected in the error/repair structures. It is difficult to determine in some instances whether the "correction" is simply overlap, as in 3.8 (page 101).

This group often exhibits, through formulations, the indexicality of the trouble source. The formulation, by announcing the trouble source, also give the grounds for repair.

8.2

1	N	Alors, ah, son proposition	(Then, ah, his suggestion was
2		était de lui meurtrier/	to [murder] him/
3	M	meu-meu-	(mur-mur-
4		uh/	uh/
5	N	c'est — s'il est en face de	(it's — if he is in front of
6		Fletch uh-uh-il ... dit — uh	Fletch uh-uh-he ... says — uh
7		coment est-ce qu'on dit...	how do you say...
8	L	uh? quoi?	(uh? what?)
9	N	dit les-les...ce qui n'est pas	(say the-the...what isn't true,
10		vrai, uh?	uh?)
11	L	uh —	(uh —
12	M	Menteur/	([Liar]
13	L	oui un menteur	(yes, a [liar]
14	N	men [teur	li [ar
15	L	[vraiment, oui	[really, you
16	M	menteur.	([liar]).

N has flagged her problem in line 5 by hesitating and using "uh." She receives no help from the group so takes the initiative and asks, "Comment est-ce qu'on dit...?" in line 7. The others offer a candidate possibility in lines 12 and 13. N repeats the candidate word (line 14) and it is also repeated by M in line 16, reinforcing "menteur" as correct.

Self-initiated other-correction is initiated by pauses, uh's, English and formulation. Other-initiated correction of French is infrequent.

8.3

1	L	Mais quand-mais quand c'est	(But when-but when it's [my]
2		mon chance/	chance)
3	N	ma	(my)
4	L	Non — oui/	(No — yes/
5	N	ma chance	(my chance)
6	L	ma chance — oui.	(my chance — yes.)

L has used the incorrect form of the possessive adjective. N corrects her with "ma." The correction is unmodulated and runs the risk of becoming a disagreement as L rejects - then accepts is (line 3). N gives the entire noun phrase correction which L repeats and confirms it (line 5).

Thus the more free-flowing conversational style marked by shorter turns at talk, frequent overlaps and co-operative word searches does not show any preference for other-initiated repair over self-correction. Other-correction is more frequent as are formulations for assistance than in the late immersion boys' group.

C. *Continuing Bilingual Group - two boys and one girl*

This group resembles the late immersion (girls) in that interruptions, overlaps, collaboration, co-operative word searches are frequent. Their topics range from school, to work, to holidays, etc. Once a topic is introduced, students can be heard to orient to it by using question/answer adjacency pairs.

9.1

1	J	...	...
2		Alors, D, où vas-tu?	(Then, D, where are you going?)
3	D	Où va moi?	(Where goes I?)
4	A	où va — hahah	where go — hahah
5	D	Peut-être à Whitefish pour	maybe to Whitefish for
6		une semaine avec C.G.	a week with C.G.
7	J	C.G.	C.G.
8	A	Qu'est-ce que vous faites là?	What do you do there?
9	D	ah, fais du golf, du-des	(ah, do golf, some
10		parties/	parties/
11	A	hahah/	hahah/
12	D	chasser-/	to chase-/
13	A	haha/	haha/
14	A	chasse les femmes/	(chase girls/
15		hahah.	hahah.
16	D	C'est presque tout, c'est	(That's about all, that's
17		tout que nous faites là.	all what we [do] there.)
18	J	Et est-ce que tu vas conduire?	(And are you going to drive?
19	A	Quoi? Il y a rien de faire	(What? There's nothing to do
20		parce que — uh	because — uh
21	D	on peut faire le golf, on peut	(You can do golf, you can go
22		faire le hiking et le tennis	[hiking] and tennis
23		et/	and/
24	J	Est-ce que tu vas conduire?	(Are you going to drive?)
25	D	Non ... —	(No ...)

The discussion prior to this excerpt has dealt with J's holidays. He now selects the next speaker by asking D what he will do during his holidays (line 2). D's answer is grammatically incorrect - and can be heard as a deliberate error. It meets with A's laughter and partial repeat of his sentence. Both J and A (lines 7-8) begin speaking at the same time. D answers (line 9) A's question. Once again J and A (lines 18-20) start to speak at the same time and once again A can be heard as successful in her self-selection bid when D (line 21) answers her question. J self-selects (line 24) and repeats his question. There are several cases where two speak at once in their competition for a turn at talk, the question/answer format can be heard to resolve the competition reflexively.

The occurrence of overlap is evidence again of a high stock of common knowledge and shared agreement.

The retrospective-prospective interpretation as well as the et cetera principle can be heard in the following exchange.

9.2

1	J	Oui, ma soeur-elle-elle a son-	(Yes, my sister-she-she has her-
2		son petit garçon-uh-il a été,	her little boy-uh-he was how
3		comment est-ce qu'on dit-uh-	do you say-uh-
4		transféré [trãnsfare]?	* transferred [* transfer]?)
5	D	transferé [trãsfare]?	(transferred[+
6	J	transferé [trãsfere] à-à um au	(transferred [ ] to-to um-to
7		nord du Columbie	norther British
8		Britannique/	Columbia/
9	A	uhhuh/	uhhuh/
10	J	pour travailler sur-sur-le-uh-	(with the * oil)
11		avec l'huile.	
12	D	quel âge a-t-il?	(how old is he?)
13	J	uh-je ne sais pas-probablement	(uh-I don't know-probably between
14		entre vingt-uh-sept et trente	twenty-uh-seven and thirty or
15		ou quelque chose comma ça.	something like that. Then she
16		Puis elle a — uh/	has — uh/
17	D	alors son	(then her cousin?)
18		cousin?	
19	J	Non il ne-il n'est pas-ils ne	(No he's-he isn't-they
20		sont pas mariés	aren't married.)
21	D	ah, l'ami de ton-de ta soeur?	(ah, the boyfriend of [your]-of
22			your sister?
23	J	oui.	(yes.)

J has introduced the topic of his sister and her "petit garçon" who has been transferred to northern British Columbia. D asks for his age - and discovers he is 27-30 years old! Unaware of the trouble source, i.e. he should have said "petit ami," J continues. D, who can be heard to have used the et cetera principle in that he assumes that J is talking about a little boy, is confused by the answer. He interrupts and asks if J is talking about a cousin. J realizes in retrospect that he has not clarified the relationship. He expands to indicate that they are not married. Still unsure, D. quizzes, "Your sister's boyfriend," thus identifying the trouble source retrospectively and clarifying it for the following exchange.

J formulates a word search in line 4 for "transferred" and supplies [transfare] as a possible candidate. D corrects his pronunciation and J's repeat confirms his agreement. The concern for correct pronunciation is an on-going process in all the groups. In the following segment D uses an English word "busboy" which he then pronounces "à la française."

9.3

1	J	Tu travailles tout/ cet	(You're working all/ this
2	D	cet/	this/
3	J	été	summer
4	D	été j'espère	summer I hope
5	J	Or [estes?	(Or [estes?
6	D	[Orestes. ou peut-être un	[Orestes. or maybe another
7		autre restaurant, je ne sais	restaurant, I don't know.)
8		pas.	
7	J	uhhuh.	(uhhuh.)
8	A	où/	(where/
9	J	à quoi faire?	doing what?)
10	D	Orestes Restaurant	(Orestes Restaurant)
11	A	ah.	(ah.)
12	J	à quoi faire?	(doing what?)
13	D	busboy [busboi]	(busboy [busboi])
14	J	[busboy [bus'boi]	[busboy [bus'boi]
15	A	[hahah	[hahah
16	D	[buzboi]	[buzboi]

D can be heard to foreground his awareness of French pronunciation as he "transforms" the English word [busboy] to French pronunciation [buzboi].

The number of overlaps in this group attest to the stock of shared knowledge. They also "muddy" the waters for the researcher! In the following example, the overlap (lines 2-3) might be the result of a self-initiated word search - or simply an overlap.

9.4

1	A	Pourquoi pas?	(Why not?)
2	J	J'irai au... [cours	(I will go to... [court
3	D	[cours	[court
4	J	au cours pour quelqu'un	(to the court for
5		m'a.../	someone/
6	D	assulté	attacked me
7	J	assulté	(attacked)
8	A	oui?	(yes?)

The self-initiated other-correction (lines 4-6) is a clear example of correction. It could be argued that since the overlap (lines 2-3) word is repeated (line 4) this is also an other-correction. The precision of the timing (lines 2-3) and the presence of other overlaps does, however, leave the analysis tentative.

Although other-corrections appear frequently, self-initiated self-corrections in the same turn as in the following example, are predominant.

9.5

1	J	mais-ih-je ne veux pas-je veux	(but-uh-I don't want-I want to
2		avoir les-les 'honors'/	have the-the honors/
3	A	ah oui	ah yes
4	J	/je ne pense que je pourrais	(I don't think I could have
5		pas les avoir-uh/	them-uh/
6	D	[en français	[in French
7	J	[en français	[in French
8		mais je pense que je peux	but I think that I can because
9		parce que-il n'est pas ici	-he isn't here now/
10		maintenant/	
11	A	ah oui/	oh yes/
12	J	il avait les mêmes	(he has the same
13		marks — notes que moi.	[marks] — marks as me.)

(This example also demonstrates the "style" of talk of this group, i.e. overlaps, A's "oui" at transition spaces with no competition for a turn at talk.) J has initiated a word search (line 13) by using an English word "marks" but supplies the French "notes" almost instantly.

This group and the late immersion girls contrast sharply with the late immersion boys. The latter proceed in a semi-debating style with lengthy turns at talk and very predominant self-initiated self-correction repair techniques. The two former groups display overlaps, collaborative (other-correction) word searches, shorter turns at talk and a use of adjacency pairs. Although self-initiated self-correction still predominates, other-correction is more frequent.

D. *Mixed Group - one continuing bilingual student and two late immersion students*

It was hypothesized that the presence of a continuing bilingual student would influence correction sequences. Sacks et al. (1974) had referred to the other-initiated correction as being more common when one member was more competent than the other. However, closer analysis of this tape showed that the question of correction as it pertains to greater competence is not decided upon in terms of years of study of French. As we stated in Chapter Four, both Ka (continuing bilingual) and L (late immersion) are "very good" students of French, R is an "average" student. On both oral tests and peer conversations, R appears hesitant. His turn is punctuated by "ums," uh, and repetitions of well-known words as the following example shows:

10.1

1	R	uh-c'est un bon-uh-c'est-uh-	(uh-it's a good-uh-it's-uh-
2		bon jeu mais-uh-il ne-uh-il	good game but-uh-it's not-uh-
3		va-um-comme il-il n'y a-il n'y	it goes-um-like it-there's-
4		a pas de fin.	there's no end.

In fact this is one of the longer turns in which R is able to obtain and maintain his turn at talk. The following format is one in which sentence is "repaired." It is however highly questionable that he has initiated this repair given the "flow" of his conversation.

10.2

1	R	il y a beaucoup de grade sept	(there are a lot of grade sevens
2		qui-uh-qui sont/	who-uh-who are/
3	L	des fanatiques.	fanatics.)
4	R	oui.	(yes.)
5	L	Dungeons et Dragons.	(Dungeons and Dragons.)

R has paused for .5 seconds, hardly sufficient to be a self-initiated repair. L has inserted "des fanatiques" which R acknowledges. The following interaction shows the "collaborative" efforts of L and Ka to finish and/or add to R's turn.

10.3

1	R	Mais les livres-les-uh-	(But the books-the-uh-
2		livres d'instructions?	instruction books?)
3	L	uhhuh	(uhhuh)
4	R	ils coûtent quelque chose comme	(they cost something like
5		vingt-deux dollars/	twenty-two dollars/
6	L	c'est-	that's
7	R	comme/	like/
8	L	C'est-c'est scandaleux	(That's-that's scandalous
9	Ka	oui-	(Yes-)

10	R	manuel des créatures-uh-comme,	(book of the creatures-uh-like
11		ça et-uh-	that and-uh-
12	Ka	et il ya les 'hit payers' et	(and there's the 'hit payers' and
13		les/	the/
14	L	oui.	yes.)

R self-selects (lines 1-2) with a question to which L replies "uhhuh." But asking the question and providing the answer, R has guaranteed his turn at talk (lines 4-5). L begins her comment on price which R interrupts. However she maintains the floor (line 8) and Ka acknowledges her statement. Undaunted by the turn of events R (line 10) continues his abortive attempt to finish his comments but Ka appears to ignore his endeavour. She continues (line 12) and effectively cuts him off.

Sacks et al. (1974:711-712) caution against simple correlations between amount of talk and status. They indicate that turn order discrimination may bias results. In 10.3 we observed the bias they are referring to, i.e. prior speaker to current speaker is next speaker. It is obviously a negotiated bias when there are more then two speakers. However, R is often "out" of the turns at talk for long, i.e. 3 minutes intervals. By contrast, Ka and L appear competent. They are alert to *when* and *how* to get a turn at talk. They often complete each other's sentence and other-correction occurs frequently between them. During one of the intervals where R is silent, he self-selects to ask them *what* they are talking about. They answer his question - and the turn order Ka-L-Ka-L is resumed. The following dialogue gives some insight into the timing and the "fine tuning" of this dyad.

10.4

1	L	Nous avons reçu notre chaton-	(We've received our kitten-
2		hahah	hahah
3	Ka	Oui? /	(Yes? /
4	L	Oui, il est/	Yes, he is
5	Ka	Quel est son	What's his
6		nom?	name?)
7	L	Licorice [hahah	(Licorice [hahah
8	Ka	[hahah	[hahah
9	L	elle-elle a des bottes-elle	(she-she has some boots-she
10		est noire et elle a des	is black and she has some
11		bottes...	boots...
12	Ka	blanches	white
13	L	blanches, oui, elle est très	(white, yes, she's very small
14		petit et toute la nuit elle	and all night she went
15		a fait "miau, maiu"	"meow, meow"
16	Ka	Oui, parce qu'elle est peur	(Yes, because she * is afraid
17		c'est/	it's/
18	L	oui, parce/	Yes, be-/
19	Ka	elle est/	she is/
20	L	parce	because
21		qu'elle	she/
22		manque ses-sa/	(misses her-her/
23	Ka	soeurs et frères	sisters and brothers)
24	L	Et sa mère	(And her mother)
25	Ka	comme/	(like/
26	L	elle est très-uh/	she is very-uh/
27	Ka	comme	like
28		quand on a eu quand-on a eu	when we had when-we had
29		Skooter...	Skooter...)
30	L	uhuh	(uhuh.)

This sequence is woven from segments of talk, interruptions, other-corrections and repeats. The two girls complete each other's sentences (line 9-24). In describing her new kitten (lines 9-11), L pauses, initiating a word search. Ka supplies "blanches" which is accepted (line 13). Although L ends her sentence (line 15) Ka completes the "scene" by explaining the kitten's reactions (line 16). L interrupts to agree and begins "parce/" (line 18), Ka interrupts (line 19), then L asserts her turn (lines 20-22) to explain the kitten's behavior. She hesitates (line 22) between "ses" and "sa." Ka foregrounds the plural form and offers "soeurs et frères" as a candidate correction. L then adds "sa mère." There is a brief competition for turns which Ka wins. She is now beginning her own story about a kitten. Moerman (1973) has described the use of antecedent stories to "cause" the telling of similar stories. This allows co-participants to hear that they have been understood.

There is leitmotif of other corrections which occur as word searches. The resolution of these searches is accomplished primarily by Ka and L. R rarely is successful in offering a candidate word. He is often the receiver of "corrections" or completions of his sentences as this sequence demonstrates.

10.5

1	Ka	Qu'est-ce qui arrive quand tu	(What happens when you find
2		trouves le-le trésor?	the-the treasure?
3	R	Oui, uh-uh-vous-uh-vous gagnez	(Yes, uh-uh-you-uh-you win some-
4		des-uh-vous gagnez des points	uh-you win experience points
5		d'expérience et-uh-	and-uh-)
6	Ka	Vous montez des-des niveaux.	(You go up some-some levels.)
7	R	Oui, des niveaux et quand vous	(Yes, levels and when you finished
8		fini le-uh-qu'est-ce que-uh-	the-uh-what-uh-the adventure-uh-
9		l'aventure-uh-vous-uh-continue	you-uh-continue another adventure
10		un autre aventure et-et-uh-	and-and-uh-
11	Ka	tout de suite après.	(immediately after.)
12	R	oui, oui.	(yes, yes.)

R is corrected by Ka who offers a candidate phrase (line 6). This is unusual as most searches are for individual words. R's flow is very hesitant. In our opinion he does not initiate a word search. Ka is either impatient or helpful and therefore completes the description of the game! R acknowledge (line 7) the phrase by repeating "des niveaux." He appears to be in difficulty again (line 10). Ka does not assist him in this problem by supplying a candidate completion. This time the clarifies part of his explanation (line 11). Although R is maintaining his turn, it is due to Ka's question (lines 1-2) and her "completions" or "corrections" to which R responds. We hypothesize that she is not unaware of how *Dungeons and Dragons* is played. Her completions/corrections contribute substantially to the game's description.

We cannot know if Ka corrects more than L. Certainly both correct more than R. This dialogue presents a major problem. What can be heard as an invitation format? R's hesitant speech and Ka and L's "cohort" talk invite other-correction or other-completion of sentences. Repair/repetition commonly follows the invitation to correct or the other-initiated correction. However in this dialogue, repetition is not a "reflexive warrant" for repair. L and Ka routinely repeat parts of each other's talk.

E. *Summary*

The talk presented in this section has ranged from semi-formal debate style to a rapid-fire free flow. The examples of turn-taking have been given as evidence of *how* we hear these differences. The participant structures as observed by the turn-taking data are readily available for analysis. Conversations are not, of course, limited to the "simplest systematics of conversation." Context is open-ended. We have therefore addressed the common-sense knowledge, to add more colour and to assist in the establishment of meaning. Within these parameters we have shown that error-repair varies with context and contributes to our understanding of context. For example: the semi-formal style showed a strong predominance of the self-initiated, self-correct, same turn structure. The more free flowing conversations showed highly collaborative word searches which were repaired by a candidate word in

French or by the stock of shared meaning available to members. Regardless of the turn-taking and other contextual features mentioned, self-initiated self-correction predominates. In the cases of the other-initiated other-correction, the object of correction is most often French grammar, pronunciation or vocabulary. Other-initiated self-repair follows the format (Heap, 1979) demonstrated, i.e. questions of clarification, elaboration or restatement.

In the following section we will present the analysis of the students' oral tests.

IV. The Oral Test Analyses

Meloche, the designer of the Oral Test, criticizes the standardized test as inadequate to the task of assessing communicative competence. In its place he proposes the oral interview which permits a superior assessment of both linguistic and communicative competencies in spite of the constraints imposed by its format. Although he has stated concerns about communication and standardized tests, the avant propos of the Oral test stresses the need for standardized procedures and marking to ensure reliability and validity. We have referred (p. 40) to the ethnomethodological literature which demonstrates that procedures and (correct) answers are not standardized in the *actual* test situation.

In this section we will demonstrate firstly that the role of the interviewer as defined by the test's rules is not easily "donned" and further that the distance between the rules and their actual realization contributes to student production of correct responses. Secondly we will examine the student reality and error/repair as they are influenced by the testing context.

A. *The Interviewer's Role*

The criteria for the interviewer are:

> [il] devrait être de préférence un francophone pouvant s'exprimer dans un français standard possédant des connaissances en didactique des langues, en testing, et spécialement dans l'administration de ce genre de test.

(p. 7 a francophone capable of expressing himself in standard French and possessing knowledge in language teaching, test and the administration of this type of test). Both interviewers are native speakers and have extensive teaching knowledge and experience. The rules of the interviewer's role sanction many of the spontaneous reactions (and taught reactions) of the teacher in the classroom. The test designer specifies *how* a test item is to be presented, received and repeated. He requires, for example, that questions "[soit posées] a un rythme normal de conversation avec l'intonation appropriée" (be asked in a normal conversation rhythm with appriate intonation). We have shown the dramatic difference between the presentation of a test item "à un rythme normal" and in "foreignese" (cf. p. 15). The marked cadence - foreignese - is the one used throughout the test for all practical purposes. (We would suggest that slight differences, e.g. faster, slower, can be heard to accommodate better or slower students.)

We now propose to examine the rules given, their accomplishment in the test and their affect on the production of correct answers.

> RULE: The test items are not repeated (1) more than once, (2) only at the student's request, and (3) are not modified.

By analyzing the test transcripts we are able to show that the realization of each part of the above rule varies from one student/interviewer dialogue to another. In some tests, student pauses prompt repetition, in others, requests for repetition are denied. Repetitions are frequently "reformulated," i.e. additional information is given. We have chosen the following example as a prototype for the reader. No part of the rule is followed! Furthermore we posit that what *is* hearable and observable is the mutuality of the interviewer and the student. Mackay (1974) states that the teacher is an integral part of the child's competence. Certainly no test designer would see the interviewer as part of the student's competence. Nonetheless, rules and roles are not easily matched to situations. The interviewer in the following sequence anticipates the student's difficulties, supplies additional material and assesses. They share a mutual goal: his correct answer.

11.1

1	I_1	Trente-deux. Si son ami ne	(Thirty-two. If his friend
2		veut pas étudier demain, qu'	doesn't want to study tomorrow,
3		est-ce qu'il fera...probable-	what will he do...probably?)
4		ment?	
5	B	(4 seconds)	(4 seconds)
6	I_1	Son ami, il doit étudier avec	(His friend, he must study with
7		son ami. Si son ami ne veut	his friend. If his friend does-
8		pas étudier avec lui demain,	n't want to study with him
9		qu'est-ce qu'il fera...prob-	tomorrow, what will he do...
10		ablement?	probably?)
11	B	Pierre ou son ami?	(Pierre or his friend?)
12	I_1	Ah, hahah, c'est une bonne	(Ah, hahah, that's a good ques-
13		question. Si son ami ne veut	tion. If his friend doesn't
14		pas étudier demain, qu'est-ce	want to study tomorrow, what
15		qu'il fera, son ami,	will he do, his friend, let's
16		disons.	say.
17	B	Oké. Son ami, uh, il ira	(Okay. His friend, uh, he will
18		au cinéma.	go to the movies.)

B's silence (line 5) can be heard as a "lapse." Sacks et al. (1974) discuss the problem of discontinuity in native speaker talk. They suggest that "Discontinuities occur when, at some transition-relevance place, a current speaker has stopped, no speaker starts... and ensuing space of non-talk constitutes itself as more than a gap - not a gap, but a lapse..." (1974:714). Although we cannot identify how much time is needed for a lapse, we can hear the interviewer orient to it by continuing his turn at talk. This turn consists of a repetition of the question with the addition of new information (lines 6-10). B then asks for clarification about "il" - is the reference Pierre or his friend (line 11)? The interviewer evaluate his clarification request and repeats the question a *second* time, specifying (additional information) "son ami" (lines 12-16). His answer (lines 17-18) is correct grammatically and is appropriate to the new information.

> RULE: All answers must be complete sentences; the student must be reminded of this should he forget.

for a correct answer was illustrated in Chapter Two (cf. p. 36). Our concern in this section is the effect of rule in different contexts. As partial answers occur frequently in conversation and in classrooms, the interviewer does not *consistently* foreground this rule:

11.2

1	I_1	Si tu avais été là, qu'est-ce	(If you has been there, what
2		que tu aurais fait après la	would you have done after the
3		partie de cartes?	card party?)
4	G	Nettoyer la maison [hahah	(Clean the house [hahah)
5	I_1	[hahah.	[hahah.)

In his discussion of the inconsistencies of rules, Mehan (1974:93 describes this problem as one of relevances,

> **Attention directed to one feature of a scene often prohibits attention to other features simultaneously. While one problem is in the foreground ... others slip into the background of features. As systems of relevance are modified, the problem which was of little concern can be brought from the background and placed at the centre of focus.**
>
> (p. 93)

The centre of focus (line 5) is meaning and humour, not complete sentences. G is not rebuked *or* reminded of the complete sentence rule. The next example shows that the rule may also praise a student.

11.3

1	I_1	Quinze. Pendant combien de-	(Fifteen. For how long did
2		temps est-ce que Pierre a joué	Pierre play cards?)
3	Ka	uh-Pendant...trois heures et	(uh-For...three and a half
4		demie-uh-Pierre a joué aux	hours-uh-Pierre played
5		cartes.	cards.)
6	I_1	Je suis contente que tu te	(I'm happy that you remember
7		rappelles de faire des	to use complete sentence,
8		phrases complètes, huh?	huh?)
9	Ka	Oké.	(Okay.)

Ka has paused at the possible transition turn (line 4) then completes the sentence (lines 4-5). I_1 reinforces her decision by saying she is pleased that Ka remembers to give complete sentence answers.

RULE: **The interviewer must not comment on student answers.**

Comments, praise and criticism are a theme in the test. Interviewers are aware of the rule and their breach of it in the following selection:

11.4

1	J	um. oké d'a-d'habitude il	(um. Okay us-usually he eats
2		prend son-um-petit déjéuner	his-um-breakfast at home.
3		à la maison.	
4	I_1	bien — ah, pardon, je suis pas	(Good — ah, sorry, I'm not
5		pas supposée de dire	supposed to say
6		'bien' [ha! ha!	'good' [ha! ha)
7	I_2	[ha! ha!	[ha! ha!

8	I_1	numéro six. Est-ce Pierre a	(number six. Is Pierre hungry
9		faim le matin?	in the morning?)
10	J	Est-es-ce que vous pouvez	(Can you repeat?)
11		répéter?	
12	I_1	Oui, Est-ce que Pierre a faim	(Yes, Is Pierre hungry in the
13		le matin?	morning?)

Having assessed J's as "bien" (line 4) I_1 comments on her breach of rules in an aside to I_2. They laugh in agreement.

In several instances, the comment takes the form of criticism/instruction. J's tendency to speak softly is criticized - as is his anglicized pronunciation! (lines 4-13) I_1 explains how French and English intonation patterns differ (lines 14-16). Not satisfied, she later reiterates her instructions (lines 23-24) along with the reminder to give complete sentence answers (lines (21-22).

11.5

1	I_1	...est-ce un livre et tu	(...is it a book and you
2		réponds?	answer?)
3	J	Oui, c'est un livre.	(Yes, it's a book.)
4	I_1	Mais faut parler plus	(But it's necessary to speaker
5		fort.	louder.)
6	J	Oké.	(Okay.)
7	I_1	Si tu dis 'oui, c'est un	(If you say, 'yes, it's a book
8		livre' (she whispers) j'en-	(she whispers) I don't hear
9		tends pas au tout.	at all.)
10	J	Oké.	(Okay.)
11	I_1	Oui, c'est un livre (in a	(Yes, it's a book (in a
12		loud voice)	(loud voice).)
13	J	Oké.	(Okay.)
14	I_1	Le français c'est pas comme	(French isn't like English, you
15		l'anglais, on baisse pas, on	don't lower, you always talk
16		dit toujours sur la même note	on the same level.)
17	J	Oké.	(Okay.)
18		-------------	-------------
19	I_1	Tout va bien? oké tu es	(Everything alright? Okay you're
20		prêt. On va commencer.	ready. We're going to begin.
21		Rappelle-toi de répondre avec	Remember to answer with complete
22		des phrases complètes et	sentences and don't lower your
23		baisse pas la voix à la fin	voice at the end of sentences.)
24		des phrases.	

Although no clearly demonstrated effect of teacher comments (e.g. a self-correction) can be found on the tapes, we can draw on our commonsense knowledge of the effects of comments on performance. Praise does make for a more positive atmosphere and lowers tension.

RULE: The interviewer may ask a student to repeat his answer but not with the goal of soliciting a better answer.

The problematic nature of rules is evident in this rule which relies not only on the judgement of the interviewer but implies that the student will not given a better answer when asked to repeat a prior one! We would argue that a better answer is a reflexive warrant for hearing the request to repeat as an "other-initiated other-correction."

11.6

1	I_1	Trente. Est-ce que Pierre va	(Thirty. Is Pierre going to
2		prendre son bain avant de se	take his bath before going
3		coucher?	to bed?)
4	N	Il ne va pas.	(He's not going.)
5	I_1	Répétez.	(Repeat.)
6	N	uh-il ne va pas prendre son	(uh-he isn't going to take his
7		bain avent de se couche —	bath before go-going to bed.)
8		coucher.	

N has corrected her sentence to produce a longer "more" complete sentence (lines 6-8). Reflexively, the request to repeat can be heard to ask for more information in a better format.

Later in the test, N produces a sentence with several self-corrections. The marking procedure is clear for such cases. The final form is the one considered the answer for marks. In spite of this. I_1 asks her if she wants to repeat it.

11.7

1	I_1	Trente-neuf. Pierre veut dire	(Thirty-nine. Pierre wants to
2		à son amie qu'il est heureux	say to his friend that he's
3		de manger avec elle. Qu'est-	happy to eat with her. What
4		ce qu'il lui dit?	does he say to her?)
5		[hahah	[hahah
6	N	[hahah. uh j'ai heureux d'elle	[hahah. uh I *am happy that she
7		— je suis heureux de manger	— I am happy to eat with him —
8		avec lui — avec toi.	with you.)
9	I_1	Tu veux répéter encore?	(You want to repeat again?)
10	N	Oké-uh-je suis heureux de man-	(Okay-uh-I am happy to eat with
11		ger avec toi aujourd'hui.	you today.)

By eliminating the false start and the self-correction, N has produced a "cleaner" answer and added new information to it.

Since the test designers had not foreseen the sense of mutuality referred to between student and interviewer, it was highly problematic that they would foresee word searches. In effect, there are no rules to prohibit the interviewer's collaboration in word searches. However, there are many examples of the interviewer supplying the missing word or condoning explicitly or implicitly the use of English.

11.8

1	I_1	Trente-cinq. Pourquoi est-ce	(Thirty-five. Why is Pierre
2		que Pierre va chez le	going to the doctor?)
3		médecin?	
4	Ka	um-Pierre va chez le médecin	(um-Pierre is going to the doctor
5		car il doit prendre un check-	because he has to take a check-
6		up — je ne sais pas — hahah	up — I don't know — hahah)
7	I_1	un examen médical.	(a medical examination.)
8	Ka	un examen médical.	(a medical examination).

Ka has "flagged" her problem by using English (lines 5-6). She repeats the candidate correction (line 8) in much the same format as a classroom situation.

The following example illustrates that the interviewer does not always just collaborate in the word search but may also supply some instruction.

11.9

1	I_1	Pourquoi est-ce que Pierre se	(Why does Pierre go to bed early
2		couche de bonne heure tous	(every night?)
3		les soirs?	
4	Ke	Il se couche de bonne heure	(He goes to bed early because he
5		parce qu'il doit se lever ah...	has to get up ah... hahah he has
6		hahah il doit se lever-ah-dans	to get up-ah-in the morning-
7		le matin-hahah j'ai oublié le	haha I forgot the word.
8		mot.	
9	I_1	Oui. Je crois que tu veux	(Yes. I believe that you want
10		dire se lever "tôt." euh? c'est	to say to get up early, euh?
11		ça que tu veux dire?	it's that that you want to say?
12	Ke	oui.	(Yes.)
13	I_1	'tôt' est l'opposée du "tard."	('early' is the opposite of late.)

Ke is obviously experiencing trouble in his search for "tôt." He finally announces that he has forgotten the word (lines 7-8). I_1 agrees and offers the word "tôt" and asks for a confirmation of the candidate word (lines 9-11). Ke replies "oui." I_1 goes on to explain (line 13) that "tôt" is the opposite of "tard." As Ke has already accepted the candidate word, further explanation would seem unnecessary. However, this exchange represents what might happen in a classroom or in a conversation with a native speaker. The trouble source has been eliminated collaboratively. The candidate word forms the basis of the interaction.

Our examples have substantiated how the application of rules is context bound and thus problematic. One possible reason for their incomplete status in this test is what appears to be the common goal held by both interviewer and student - namely that of student production of correct answers. The inconsistency and incompleteness of the rules in context can be seen to effect correct answers. Roth's (1974) critique of I.Q. testing focuses on the fact that outcomes, viewed as products, appear to be equivalent. He goes on to say, "The equivalence of product ... does not mean that the processes of interaction between teacher and child were equivalent" (1974:155). The marks are a minimal account of this test and a necessary distorsion of the interactive process.

B. *The Student's Testing Reality*

In this section we will present firstly the buildup of context for the student as he progresses through the test and secondly the accomplishment of error/repair by the student.

The test designer has insisted that the test be a positive experience for the student. For example, to begin the examination, the interviewer is to set a cordial atmosphere, to ask questions which put the student as ease and to get down pertinent information on the test sheet. Although these tasks are meant to be mutually exclusive, in the following example, "the task at hand," i.e. getting down relevant information, seriously impinges, in our opinion, on the student feeling at ease. I_1 and I_2 are talking about the student using "il" (lines 4-6) as though he is not present or capable of answering the question raised about *his* program.

11.10

1	I_1	tu as son nom correct?	(you've got his correct name?)
2	I_2	oui, merci.	(yes, thanks.)
3	I_1	c'est bon.	(that's good.)
4	I_2	mais est-ce qu'il est de l'	(but is he in late immersion or

5		immersion tardive ou du pro-	in a bilingual program?)
6		gramme bilingue?	
7	R	mm programme bilingue.	(mm bilingual programme)
8	I_1	A quelle école étais-tu avant?	(What school were you at before?)
9	T	um Braeside Elementary	(um Braeside Elementary.)
10	I_2	ça c'est pas un programme	(That's not a bilingual program.)
11		bilingue.	

R self-selects to answer but is rejected. It is apparent that his interpretation of "bilingue" is not that of the interviewers. In discussing classroom questions, Heyman (1983) points out that students are obliged to make sense of teacher/student talk although their "sense-making categories" differ. R's endeavours illustrate the work undertaken by students to clarify these categories in a test situation.

11.11

1	R	[ah ah oui	[(ah ah yes)
2	I_1	[Alors tu es dans/	[(then you are in/
3	R	Je sui-suis dans le programme	(I a-am in the bilingual program-
4		bilingue- [mais	[but
5	I_1	[mais tu as commencé	[but you began to study in
6		à étudier au [grade sept	[grade seven
7	R	[grade sept	[grade seven
8	I_1	au grade sept	(in grade seven)
9	I_2	ah, immersion tardive, oké?	(ah, late immersion, okay?)
10	I_1	oké. ...	(okay. ...)

He is explaining that he is in the bilingual program (lines 3-4) when I_1 interrupts (line 5-6) and finishes his sentence by specifying that he began in grade seven. The conversation returns to I_2 (line 9) who formulates and requests verification that he is in late immersion. I_1 agrees. R thus experiences a sort of anomy following his unsuccessful endeavour to give information about himself.

A, on the other hand, has a different experience. She is welcomed by I_1, who jokingly informs her that she won't hurt her (lines 1-3). A accepts the laughter invitation.

11.12

1	I_1	faut parler fort. Avance-toi.	(have to speak loudly. Move for-
2		Bien, près de mois. Je te	ward. Good, near me. I don't
3		fais pas mal [hahah	hurt you [hahah
4	A	[hahah	[hahah
5	I_1	Comment t'appelles-tu?	(What's your name?)
6	A	Je m'appelle A.	(My name is A.)
7	I_1	au complet, ton nom au complet.	(in full, your full name.)
8	A	A.H.	(A.H.)
9	I_1	Merci. Tu étudies le français	(Thanks. You've been studying
10		depuis combien d'années?	French for how many years?)

When she gives her complete name, I_1 thanks her (line 9) and asks her how many years of French she has. In the next few minutes, it is discovered that A's younger sister is at the school where I_2 will teach in the fall. All three join in laughter. Contrary to R's experience A has been acknowledged, has joined in the group laughter and has contributed information about her program and her family, which has allowed a brief, relaxed conversation to ensue.

Doubtless all students become accustomed to the test situation, its goals and procedures. Students in bilingual programs in particular are frequently tested. A warm and positive atmosphere does not change their understanding of the "real" test purpose. Furthermore the interviews are done individually so that R does not know what A has experienced. Within the test context we can find no "proof" of the influence of the welcome on student responses. Nonetheless it is the first contact with the test and the first interactional context.

Students are now shown the pictures which constitute the "mise en situation," a story about Pierre and his daily activities, and given the rule which are supposed to govern their responses. In the first example, L is given the rules prior to the "mise en situation."

11.13

I_1	c'est-je vais te montrer comment on va faire le test.	(I'm going to show you how we're going to do the test.)
L	oké.	(Okay.)
I_1	tu regardes bien l'image je vais te poser des questions sur les images.	(You look closely at the picture I'm going to ask you some questions about the pictures.)
L	uhhuh.	(uhhuh.)
I_1	Tu dois répondre par des phrases complètes.	(You have to answer with complete sentences.)
L	oké.	(Okay.)
I_1	D'accord? Par exemple si je dis 'est-ce un livre? ' tu dois répondre oui c'est un livre ou c'en est un.	(Agreed? For example if I say 'is this a book? ' you must answer yes it's a book or it's one.)
L	oké.	(Okay.)
I_1	d'accord on y va, on va juste pratiquer.	(agreed let's go, we'll just practice.)
L	oké.	(Okay.)
I_1	Est-ce un livre?	(Is this a book?)
L	oui, c'est un livre.	(yes, it's a book.)
I_1	Si tu n'a pas bien compris la question la première fois tu peux demander de la répéter.	(If you don't completely understand the question the first time you can ask to have it repeated.)
L	oké.	(Okay.)
I_1	D'accord. Dans les-uh-tu regardes les images.	(Agreed? In the-uh-you look at the pictures.)
L	em em	(em em)
I_1	et ah la première rangée répresente toujours dimanche passé	(and ah the first row always represents last Sunday)
L	em em	(em em)
I_1	celle du milieu répresente aujourd'hui	(those in the centre represent today)
L	em em	(em em)
I_1	celle du bas répresente demain	(those on the bottom represent tomorrow)
L	oké	(Okay)
I_1	Durant le test on parle d'un jeune homme qui s'appelle Pierre.	(During the test we speak of a young man called Pierre.)
L	em em	(em em)
I_1	oké. Et d'habitude Pierre prend son petit déjeuner à 7 h 15. Ensuite, il va à l'université, il y va a pied. Pierre étudie de 8 h à 11 h 40.	(okay. And usually Pierre eats his breakfast at 7:15. Afterwards he goes to university, he goes there on foot. Pierre studies from 8 to 11:50.
	Ordinairement, il prend son dîner avec son amie, mais demain, il va chez le médecin.	(Ordinarily, he eats lunch with his girlfriend, but tomorrow he is going to the doctor.
	Pierre est étudiant. Il étudie tous les jours. Dimanche passé, Pierre s'est levé à 9 h 55. Il a pris son petit	(Pierre is a student. He studies every day. Last Sunday Pierre got up at 9:55. He ate his breakfast at home. Afterward

55		déjeuner à la maison. Ensuite,	he went to the beach with his
56		il est allé à la plage avec	friend. He remained at the
57		son ami. Il est resté à la	beach from 11 to 5. Do you
58		plage de 11 h à 5 h. As-tu	gave any questions about
59		des questions à poser sur	Pierre?)
60		Pierre?	
61	L	... um ...	(... um ...)
62	I_1	tu n'a pas besoin de le faire	(you don't have to)
63	L	non.	(no.)
64	I_1	Si tu en as-	(If you have any-)
65	L	ah oké.	(ah, okay.)
66	I_1	oké si au cours du test tu	(okay if during the test you
67		veux changer de réponse, fais-	want to change an answer, do
68		le hé?	it, eh?)
69	L	oké	(okay.)

I_1 presents the rule of complete sentences (lines 8-9). She then give an example (lines 11-14) and asks a question to make sure that L has understood the rule. The second rule is that a student may ask for a repeat (lines 21-24). I_1 states the rule and asks "d'accord?" to verify that it is clear. The "mise en situation" continues in a similar pattern: I_1 makes a statement, L indicates that she has understood. Finally L is told to change answers if she wants (lines 66-68). All three rules have been foreground for L by the use of questions and examples.

The "telling of the rules" and the "mise en situation" vary in length and style from one student to the other. Unlike L who is guided through, M has a totally different experience.

11.14

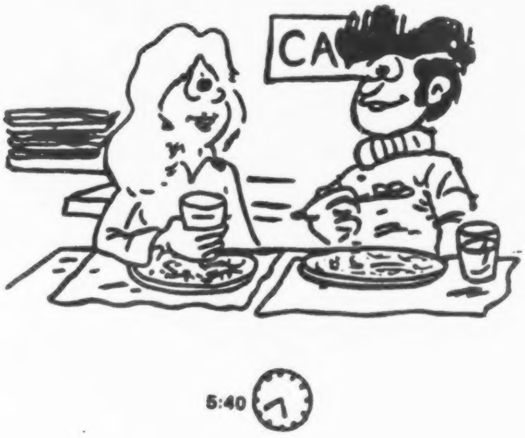
1	M	haha. Je m'appelle M.K.	(haha. My name is M.K.)
2	I_1	et j'ai expliqué là aussi sous	(and I explained there also
3		chaque image il y a ah une	under each picture there's ah
4		horloge qui représente le	a clock which represents the
5		temps, hé, il faut parfois —	time, eh it's necessary some-
6		on te demandera des questions	times — we'll ask you some
7		là-dessus.	questions about it.)
8	M	em em.	(em em.)
9	I_1	bien. Tu es prète? et ah par-	(good. You're ready? and ah
10		don et l'histoire c'est à-	sorry and the story it's about
11		propos d'un garçon qu'on-qui	a boy that we-whose name is
12		s'appelle Pierre.	Pierre.)
13	M	em em	(em em)
14	I_1	et d'habitude Pierre prend son	(and usually Pierre eats his
15		petit déjeuner à 7 h 15. En-	breakfast at 7:15. Then he
16		suite, il va à l'université.	goes to the university. here.
17		ici. Il y va à pied. Pierre	He goes on foot. Pierre studies
18		étudie de 8 h à 11 h 50. Ordi-	from 8 to 11:50. Ordinarily,
19		nairement, il prend son dîner	he eats his lunch with his girl-
20		avec son amie, mais demain, il	friend, but tomorrow, he's
21		va chez le médecin. Pierre	going to the doctor. Pierre is
22		est étudiant. Il étudie tous	a student. He studies every
23		les jours. Dimanche passe.	day. Last Sunday. Pierre got
24		Pierre s'est levé à 9 h 55.	up at 9:55. He ate his break-
25		Il a pris son petit déjeuner	fast at home. Afterwards he
26		à la maison. Ensuite, il est	went to the beach with his girl-
27		allé à la plage avec son amie.	friend. He stayed at the beach
28		Il est resté à la plage de 11	from 11 to 5 o'clock. Do you
29		h à 5 h. As-tu des questions	have any questions about
30		à poser sur Pierre?	Pierre?)
31	M	Non.	(No.)
32	I_1	Non, tu es prète? Maintenant	(No, you're ready? Now we begin.
33		on commence. Numéro un. Qui	Number one. Who is this?)
34		est-ce?	
35	M	C'est Pierre.	(It's Pierre.)

In fact, I_1 has omitted all three rules and nearly forgotten (lines 9-12) to do the "mise en situation"! In spite of this oversight, M does change her answers when she wants to; she replies with complete sentences and is successful in having questions repeated.

At this moment we would like to digress and ask the reader to recollect the portions of transcripts which dealt with rule accomplishment and these latter segments which demonstrate the interactional context prior to the test items. They represent an endeavour to make "account-able" the fluid, rich, and dynamic context which permeates the realization of each oral test. They open the interviewer/student reality for the observer/reader. We "make sense" of context by examining this reality as opposed to the taken for granted world which the test designer projected in his roles and rules for participants. We have proved that the test is interactional. However, a test is also organized for the task at hand: assessment of student linguistic and communicative competence. To assess properly, it organizes a context to which performance, i.e. student answers are closely related. We will now present the organizational techniques designed to delimit the context and make performances less problematic.

Preformulators are strategies identified by French and MacLure (1979) which establish shared experience and, thus, a criterion of appropriateness for the student. They locate three conditions under which an experience can be designated as "shared experience." For our purposes we will discuss only the concrete "here and now" world which "is physically present ... and is perceptually available." The test designer has presented a series of pictures which constitute the "mise en situation." They serve to establish Pierre as the central character of the best. They also give an idea of Pierre's activities over a space of three days. Students are told explicitly that Pierre and his activities will form a basis for test items. This obviates the "sorting decision" (Mehan, 1974) evident in questions such as "What did *you* do this morning?" French and MacLure discuss the expectation which accompanies preformulation, "It is assumed that once the necessary orientation has been established in the child, any attitudes he may hold towards the issue are not a potential source of disagreement or breakdown" (1979:7).

In a general way, the pictures are successful in delimiting context. However, some students express answers which go beyond the context. In the following example, M answers the question as though it pertains to Pierre and not only to the picture.



11.15

1	I_1	Pierre mange avec plusieurs	(Pierre eats with several
2		jeunes filles?	girls?)
3	M	uh ... je pense qu'il mange	(uh ... I think that he eats
4		avec des autres jeunes filles.	with some other girls.)

Throughout the test, the pictures form the explicit context to which students orient for questions and to discover appropriate information for their answers. The first eight questions of the test develop this context as stable and expected. However the pictures are not always used and the sense of shared understanding/experience is on shaky grounds after question eight. As Heap (1980) points out this sets up a difficulty for hearers, that of deciding which frame of reference is preferred. The Oral Test designer has, to some extent, anticipated this difficulty by insisting on a "right" answer as being "any plausible answer accepted by a francophone." He has tried to avoid the typical - and perhaps necessary - condition of assessment tasks, i.e. that they be "organized to require a single frame of reference (or set of frames)" (Heap, 1980:27). Students, however, are accustomed to answering test questions in the "right" way. They can be heard to hesitate and then use clarification requests to identify (a) correct format and (b) appropriate information.

Student concern deals most often with ensuring the correct format for their answers. They ask for clarification immediately after the question, as the following sequence shows:

11.16

I_1	uhuh, une question pas sur l' image. Vingt-et-un. Pierre veut aller au cinéma ce soir. Qu'est-ce qu'il demande à son amie?	(uhuh, a question not about the picture. Twenty-one. Pierre wants to go to the movies this evening. What does he ask his girlfriend?)
N	Est-ce que vous voulez dis-discours indirect ou direct?	(Do you want indirect or direct speech?)
I_1	uh-tu peux lui demander directement. Tu es Pierre	(uh-you can ask her directly. You are Pierre.)
N	Oké, uh, voulez-vous aller au cinéma ce soir?	(Okay, uh, do you want to go to the movies this evening?)

N requests clarification on the format of her answer. It can be either direct or indirect discourse. I_1 clarifies the format. N is now able to give a "correct" answer.

Question nine, the first question for which pictures are not used, presents a problem for most students. As the interviews progressed, the interviewers tried to foresee the difficulty by specifying that it was not on the picture. Students still had difficulty as the next sequence illustrates:

11.17

I_1	Neuf. Demain le professeur va enseigner, et le soir...? Tu peux imaginer... Invente une réponse. C'est pas sur l'image.	(Nine. Tomorrow the teacher is going to teach, and in the evening...? You can imagine... Make up an answer. It's not in the picture.)
R	ah, oké, et-uh-je n'ai comrends pas la/	(ah, okay and-uh-I didn't understand the/
I_1	oké, je répète. Demain le professeur va enseigner...	okay, I repeat.) (Tomorrow the teacher is going to teach...)

For R, finding the new frame of reference for appropriate information was a problem. Later in the test he uses a clarification request to determine if this is another question where one imagines the answer.

11.18

1	I_1	Qu'est-ce que Pierre aurait	(What would Pierre have ordered
2		*commandé, s'il avait eu plus*	*if he was still hungry?)*
3		faim?	
4	R	Est-ce que c'est une question	(Is that a question where you
5		où on invente?	invent?)
6	I_1	Oui.	(Yes.)
7	R	uh-il-uh-il veut recommander	(uh-he-uh-he wants to recommend*
8		un-uh-un filet mignon et des	a-uh-a filet mignon and some
9		escargots.	escargots.)

Clarification requests in examples (11.17) and (11.18) have in fact guaranteed the correct format and appropriate information source. Although this does not in itself produce a correct answer (R has not used the correct verb tense) it does contribute substantially to students' answers and marks.

Heap (1980) also identifies the resource problem as one in which the test itself is a resource for obtaining the correct answer. There are situations in this oral test where we hypothesized that the student used the question to correct an answer, e.g. a change of verb tense. However, the following example is among the less ambiguous. Ka is answering question forty in which the verb "commander" (to order) was not used.

11.19

1	Ka	Le garçon servait-uh-servait	(The waiter was serving-uh-was
2		ses-uh-son-le déjeuner que	serving [his]-uh-his-the lunch
3		Pierre et son amie a-uh-	that Pierre and his girlfriend
4		demandé.	-uh- * asked for.)
5	I_1	Quarante-et-un. Qu'est-ce	(Forty-one. What would Pierre
6		que Pierre aurait commandé,	have ordered, if he was still
7		s'il avait en plus faim?	hungry?)
8	Ka	Il aurait commandé deux hot-	(He would have ordered two hot-
9		dogs et-uh-uh-quelque chose	dogs and-uh-uh-something to
10		à boire.	drink.)

In line 3 Ka has used an incorrect verb "demander." Question forty-one deals directly with what Pierre ordered (commander). Ka corrects her next answer (line 8) by replacing "demander" with "commander."

In summary we have illustrated the relationship between preformulating, frame and resource problems and the production of "correct" answers on the test. Although correct answers and correct French are not always synonymous ("correct answer" incorporates appropriate information as well as correct French) they are correlative. We have shown the work accomplished by students in their production. We will now examine the error/repair sequences in student answers.

Initially we focus on self-initiated self-correction.

11.20

1	I_1	Numéro dix-neuf. Pierre ne	(Number nineteen. Pierre can't
2		peut pas regarder la télé-	watch television this evening.
3		vision ce soir. Donne un	Tell Pierre not to.)
4		ordre à Pierre.	
5	M	Pierre, regarde-ne regarde	(Pierre, watch-don't watch
6		pas la télévision ce soir.	television this evening.)

In this example, M has begun her sentence with the order in the affirmative. She corrects by using a cut-off technique and gives the order in the negative as the question demanded.

11.21

I_1	Trente-cinq. Pourquoi est-ce que Pierre va chez le médecin?	(Thirty-five. Why is Pierre going to the doctor?)
Ke	Pierre doit aller chez le médecin parce qu'il sent malade (2 seconds). Il se sent malade.	(Pierre has to go to the doctor because he [feels] sick (2 seconds). He feels sick.)

This self-repair is initiated by a pause - although it is not exceptionally long.

The following example is initiated by "uh" before the correction of a pronunciation error.

11.22

I_1	uhhuh. Est-ce qu'il y avait un peu de français là?	(uhhuh. Was there a little French there?)
B	Non. Seulement les-les [Kurs] ...uh les [Kur] élémentaires.	(No. Only the-the [courses] ...uh the elementary courses.)

The above examples illustrates self-initiated self-repair of errors in pronunciation or grammar. Students use a full range of initiator techniques. The errors corrected are hearable to the student and to someone knowledgeable in French. The following correction is also self-initiated and repaired within the same turn. The trouble source is not available to the listener.

11.23

I_1	Dix-sept. Qu'est-ce que Pierre doit faire avant de regarder la télévision ce soir?	(Seventeen. What does Pierre have to do before watching television this evening?)
Ka	ah-Pierre [dwaz] étudier ses leçons pour demins-pour le prochain jour avant de regarder la télévision.	(ah-Pierre [must] study his lessons for tomorrow-for the next day before watching television.)

Ka has correctly answered the question in using "demain" then changes to "le prochain jour," a longer adverbial phrase. Both "demain" and "le prochain jour" are correct forms. This example also shows a candidate error [dwaz] which goes uncorrected. Needless to say, this occurs regularly in tests. We cannot know, in a principled manner, why some candidate errors are corrected and others apparently left untended.

In the test tapes analyzed, there was only one example of a self-initiated self-repair in the turn subsequent to that which follows a trouble source turn.

11.24

I_1	demande à Pierre quelle est	(ask Pierre what is his
	sa nationalité?	nationality?)
B	Pierre, quelle est ton	(Pierre, what's [your]
	nationalité?	nationality?)
I_1	Treize. Demande à Pierre/	(Thirteen. Ask Pierre/
B	uh	uh
	Pierre quelle est *ta*	Pierre what's your nationality?
	nationalité?	
I_1	Treize. Demande à Pierre s'il	(Thirteen. Ask Pierre if he's
	est bilingue?	bilingual?)

B has recognized his error - "ton nationalité" after I_1 has begun the next question. He interrupts, corrects his response and stresses it - "*ta* nationalité." This example also shows the implacable nature of the test interview format. B receives no feedback on his correction - nor acknowledgement of his interruption - as he would have in conversation or in the classroom. I_1 continues by repeating the question number and the question.

Cazden, in her critique of oral language exams, documents instances of hypercorrections in her students by comparing exam responses and classroom responses. As we did not have access to a teaching situation we cannot know whether some of the self-corrections such as the following are examples of hypercorrection:

11.25

I_1	Huit. Comment est-ce qu'il	(Eight. How does he go to the
	va à l'université?	university?)
Ke	Il marche — il va sur pied.	(He walks — he goes * on foot.)

Ke's initial answer is correct, the "correction" is not!

Cazden's comments on hypercorrection are not, however, limited to questions of grammar and syntax. She refers to "reduced quantity" as well as quality. We could not find within the test interview itself "long" answers, i.e. ones in which students added more information than was demanded by the test question and the supplied context of the picture. Students do, in some cases, answer in a more "natural" manner. For example:

11.26

I_1	Six. Est-ce que Pierre a	(Six. Is Pierre hungry in the
	faim le matin?	morning?)
N	Oui, je pense que oui-parce	(Yes, I think so-be-because he
	qu'il mange son petit	eats his break-
	déjeuner — [haha	fast — [haha)
I_1	[(silence).	[(silence).

N has modulated this comment which can be heard as typical of test responses with laughter. The laughter invitation is met with silence.

Word Searches

The problem of word searches is often resolved jointly in second language conversation as Schwartz' study demonstrated and our data have confirmed. However, some of the word searches undertaken in the course of this test are resolved by students themselves.

11.27

1	I_1	quarante. Pendant que Pierre	(Forty. While Pierre and his
2		et son amie mangeaient, qu'	girlfriend were eating, what
3		est-ce que le garçon a fait?	did the waiter do?)
4	Ka	Le garçon servait-ah-servait	(The waiter was serving-ah-
5		ses-ah-son-le déjeuner que	serving [his]-ah-[his]-the
6		Pierre et son amie a-um-	lunch that Pierre and his girl-
7		demandé.	friend-um- * asked for.)

Ka is experiencing trouble finding the correct form "leur." Her "trouble" becomes apparent as she "tries out" third person adjectives "ses" and "son." She resolves the problem by using a subordinate relative clause (lines 5-7).

Summary

As we have seen, students use a full range of initiator techniques and placements. Their repair/corrections have addressed candidate errors in pronunciation and grammar. The "appropriateness" of the answer has been seen to be indexical as they have corrected non-hearable trouble sources and addresses the meaning of the question *without* reference to the pictorial context.

Self-initiated other-corrections have been discussed in collaborative word searches and in student clarification requests.

In conclusion we have examined the reality of the test situation as it exists in *interaction* not in theory. We have substantiated the incompleteness of roles and rules and demonstrated that they are mutually constructed by student and interviewer. The construction of student production is facilitated by this interaction as is the process of error/repair.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

This study took as its central concern the phenomenon of error/repair in the talk of bilingual students in oral tests and peer conversations. Its purposes were two-fold: to examine the formal structures of error/repair as described by Schegloff et al. (1977) and to determine the effects of context on those practices. The preceding chapters have contributed to the development of these concerns in the following manner: firstly, by describing normative sociological research which subsumes error analysis; secondly, by giving a philosophical and methodological description and rationale of the thesis; thirdly, by answering the major questions of how the data were collected and analyzed; and, finally, by presenting our own transcribed data and analyses. Essentially, we have argued for the transcontextual features of error/repair and its contextual accomplishment, and for the use of conversational analysis in the study of the social world. It is the purpose of this chapter to discuss the occurrence of error/repair as compared to native speaker usage and to demonstrate the interdependence of error/repair and context. Secondly, we will examine error analysis and its attendant theories and models of language acquisition in the light of the evidence in the analyses. We will argue for the collection of data *in situ* and for the use of descriptive evidence. Thirdly, we will explicate the advantages of conversational analysis as a methodology; and, lastly, we will discuss the implications of these conceptual and analytic claims for testing, classroom practices, and future research.

I. Discussion of the Analyses

Schegloff et al. (1977) state that "...self-correction and other-correction are related organizationally, with self-correction preferred to other-correction" (1977:352). Although they do not discuss their sampling, references (e.g. to Avon Lady and customer, etc.) and topics lead us to believe that most of the sample of talk are from conversations of native speaking American adults. Their findings have been substantiated by analyses of adult Lue conversation (Moerman, 1977), and of adult English second language speakers (Schwartz, 1977; Gaskill, 1977). None of these studies has addressed the contextual aspect of error and repair by giving samples of talk from the same speakers in different contexts. To our knowledge, this study is the first to undertake this task. Our data are also unique in that the subjects are bilingual adolescents. Their bilingualism is the result of taking 60% of their instruction (Mathematics, Sciences, Social Studies and French Language Arts) in French. They are all English-speaking inhabitants of an English-speaking city. Analysis of our data indicates two major, important findings. Firstly, in spite of age and different contexts, self-correction remains preferred over other-correction. Secondly, the analysis contributes to the conceptual claim of "member." Students not only show the same preferences as native speakers, they use the initiator techniques and organizational features described by Schegloff et al. (1977). In mastering a natural language, a member acquires formal structures for repairing trouble sources. These structures are pertinent to language use, regardless of whether we are concerned with the first or subsequent languages and regardless of the stage of second language mastery.

We will now give a more detailed summary of the analyses.

A. *Self-initiated Self-Repair*

Self-initiated repair may occur in three main positions: within the same turn as the trouble source, in that turn's transition space and in the turn subsequent to the trouble source. It is initiated by several techniques: uhs, etc., pauses and cut-offs.

Self-initiated self-repair in the same turn

These students, like the adult native speakers in the study of Schegloff et al. (1977) used this form most frequently regardless of context. In addition to the initiator techniques described, they also signal a trouble source by using English. The repair often took the form of a correction of a lexical, phonological or grammatical error.

Self-initiated self-repair in the turn's transition space

In the peer conversations, this form was often embedded in the talk. By this we mean that, like the native speakers, the repair was followed by talk. In the test situation, the repair was typically the last segment of talk. As we have stated the turn-taking is pre-allocated in the test and student responses are short and to the point.

Self-initiated self-repair in the subsequent turn

This form is the least used of the three referred to in this section. When it occurs in peer interaction the student has recognized a trouble source retrospectively as in example 2.1 (page 31) and repair it. In the test interaction, the form is outstanding by its virtual absence. There is only one example in the eleven test tapes (cf. 11.24 page 69). We attribute this, in part, to the turn-taking system of the test which can be illustrated as follows:

I_1 Test Item #1
S Response to #1

I_1 Test Item #2
S Response to #2

This format tends to discourage students from reflecting back to a previous answer. They are involved with the task at hand, namely attending to the next test item. Their answers also tend to be short, one sentence responses. They are foregrounding the purpose of the test, namely the production of an accurate answer.

Self-initiated other-repair

Schegloff et al. describe this form as requiring several turns to complete the work of repair. Word searches dominate this category. They address lexical, phonological and grammatical errors. Although word searches may be self-repaired, other-repair is more common. In peer group conversation, they are also a source of interaction. Students recall grammar rules (cf. 2.7. page 33), their sense of correct French, and their knowledge of correct pronunciation (cf. 9.3 page 52). Although standardized procedures assume that interviewers will not contribute to student answers, our data showed that six of the eleven test tapes had one or more collaborative word searches.

One of the differences in error/repair between the two contexts is that word searches may be successfully terminated among the students without using either English or French. The students share an abundant stock of knowledge. As example 3.6 (page 44) clearly illustrates, words are not always necessary.

B. *Other-Initiated Self-Repair*

This form uses turn-constructional devices to inquire into the trouble source. They occupy one main position: next turn. Schegloff et al. (1977) note that they are rarely interruptions. They generally take several turns to accomplish the repair. As we have demonstrated other-repairs tend to fit into Heap's (1979) analysis, in that they are requests for clarification, elaboration or re-statement. This is true in both interactional contexts. We would like to draw attention to the work done by students during the test to obtain clarification, etc. and thereby increase their chances of a correct answer. In the previous section we demonstrated that self-initiated self-repair in the subsequent turns is largely absent from test data. We attributed this to the necessary foregrounding of the next test item and to the rigid turn-taking system. However,students do assert themselves and bring change within the turn-taking format. They routinely self-select to ask for clarification of the format of a question, the source of information (e.g. the pictures or imagination) or to request that a test item be repeated. The following example illustrates this point.

12.1

1	I_1	Qu'est-ce que Pierre aurait	(What would Pierre have ordered
2		commandé s'il avait eu plus	if he had been hungrier?)
3		faim?	
4	R	Est-ce que c'est une question	(Is this a question where you
5		où on invente?	invent an answer?)
6	I_1	Oui.	(Yes.)
7	R	au-il-ah-il veut recommander	(ah-he-ah-he wants to [recommend]
8		un-ah-filet mignon et des	a filet mignon and snails.)
9		escargots.	

Uncertain about the frame of reference for the question, R requests clarification (lines 4-5) and receives his answer (line 6). The turn-taking format is now:

I_1 Test Item #1
S Clarification Request
I_1 Acknowledgement of Request
S Answer to Test Item #1

Try-marking, or giving an answer as a question is not a successfull bid for feedback. The interviewers simply ignore it. Requests for clarification, on the other hand, are generally acknowledged.

In the Oral Test, other-initiated repair of student answers took place. We explained earlier that our claim is based on the reflexive warrant of self-repair. When asked to repeat their answers, students tended to correct them.

We have argued elsewhere that lapses in student talk have the effect of other-initiated repair as they elicit repetition of the test item or the addition of new information. Lapses, and silences, do not have this impact on peer conversations. This is due in part to the fact that there are three co-participants. However, long silences such as R's which last up to three minutes do not necessarily even attract attention.

Schegloff et al. (1977) describe other-repairs as modulated or marked by uncertainty. Our data and Gaskill's (1977) show that second language speakers tend to use unmodulated corrections. In some cases, our subjects actually interrupt with the proffered correction as in example 8.3 (page 50).

Although the potential for disagreement is there, it does not actually materialize. As Gaskill (1977) stated, disagreement is heard in context (p. 51).

C. *Other-Initiated Other-Repair*

Schegloff et al. (1977) emphasize that these repairs are also modulated or if unmodulated occur after an understanding check. Our students were not so polite! Unmodulated other-correction tends to occur when there has been as error in French. Correct usage would appear to be what Heap (1979) has referred to as the "affair judged" to which there is equal access. There are several prime examples of their "unmodulated correction" in our data (cf. 8.3 page 50 and 2.7 page 33). What is even more curious, given the rules of the testing game, is the presence of other-initiated other-repair of an instructional nature given by interviewers to students, Schegloff et al (1977) refer to other-correction as

> ...a device for dealing with those who are still learning or being taught to operate a system which requires for its routine operation, that they be adequate self-monitors and self-correctors as a condition of competence. It is, in that sense, only a transitional usage, whose supersession by self-correction is continuously awaited.
>
> Schegloff et al., 1977:381)

We strongly agree with their statement. Other-correction is an essential aspect of learning a language. We do contend, however, that a greater awareness and understanding of how students can be heard to identify and repair their own talk would enlighten teachers' understanding and knowledge of language acquisition.

We would like to stress the students' ability to foreground "the task at hand" in the testing game and to background some of those concerns in peer interaction. Students work hard at producing correct French on the test by self-correcting and requesting additional information. Their answers which are short and to the point, often rely entirely on the picture for information. In the peer situation, much of the talk "flows." Students regularly self-correct, but the over-riding concern for French while not forgotten is not so consistently foregrounded. They do not hesitate to lengthen their turn at talk for whatever reason. They are secure in their ability to communicate, self-repair or to rely on co-participants for repair. This is equally true of late immersion and continuing bilingual students in this study of context.

In conclusion, we have demonstrated the interdependence of error/repair and context. Furthermore, we have added new evidence to the conceptual claim made by ethnomethodologists for "member." Schegloff et al. state that an adequate understanding of a natural language "...will need to depict how a natural language handles its intrinsic troubles" (1977:381). They have demonstrated this through the organization of repair. Our data indicate that this organization is part of common-sense knowledge used by the member to handle language problems regardless of which language. Through the knowledge of repair, social organization is also accomplished. Teachers/interviewers for example have the right to repair through instruction. Students may discuss rules but do not instruct each other.

II. A Re-Examination of Error Analysis

The evidence of this study is germane to error analysis, its working paradigm and theories such as "inrerlanguage." It contests the concept of error and the methods of data collection and of analysis. We have discussed (page 17) the concept of theory as it is used in normative sociological research. It is based on literal description, formal logic and purports to predict with accuracy the future course of social events. It is in this frame of research that the theories of language acquisition have endeavoured to explain and predict. It is our contention that this genre of theory in the social world is not effective. We have chosen to use "conceptual claims" as the term to describe the findings of ethnomethodology. "Conceptual claims" refer to the knowledge bases, or findings of its studies. (We acknowledge that "theory" can be used to describe a broader, more philosophical concept. However, for the purposes of this thesis, we wish to maintain a semantic distinction between the theoretical approach and the constitutive one.) In the place of theories of language acquisition, we propose conceptual claims in the form of descriptive evidence.

The scientific definition of error is a deviation from accuracy. In error analysis, errors are deviations from the standard of the native speaker. They are identified by inaccurate *forms*. The underlying pre-tacit assumption is that the native speaker standard can be literally described. All native speakers would recognize the errors in second language speech. Although this is probably true for some errors, the standard of native speakers is susceptible to a myriad of conditions: education, jobs, etc. For a second language learner who is learning under these conditions, some errors are a part of the norm.

We have expanded the definition of error so that it incorporates the trouble sources, that is, breakdowns in communication, misunderstanding, re-ordering, etc. Our central concerns are the "intrinsic troubles" of natural language users. Therefore we have necessarily included repair as the righting of trouble sources. We say "necessarily" because our unit of analysis is interaction, not the morpheme or the phrase. Our perspective is grounded in every day use, in the hearable work done by co-participants. Rather than consider error as a sign of deficiency we opt to examine error/*repair*. The methods used by students to repair trouble sources are a gauge, then, of what they *know* and how they make sense of utterances. We find this approach eminently more revealing of the processes of language acquisition than a study of errors out of context.

Our methods of data collection and analysis are consonant with our view of language as constitutive. Language and context are inextricably interwoven. Data are collected *in situ* by using audio or video tape recordings. These methods allow the researcher access to questions of pacing, emphasis, paralinguistic features, etc. The transcripts of the analyses should therefore reflect the integrity of interaction.

The data collection of error analysts has been "context-stripped." Data are elicited from specifically designed tests and tasks (e.g. imitation). Where observational data are used (Krashen and Pon, 1975), errors are still taken out of context. No embedded features such as repair or hearable context are included in the data.

Our analyses allow for the natural ambiguities of language. We have referred to examples which could be either repair/repetition or completion/repetition. The researcher is obliged to acknowledge that he does not know the intentions of the speakers. Since our data are not quantified, this does not pose a problem. For the error analyst, a similar situation would be "solved" by an arbitrary decision or by eliminating the sample. Statistical procedures can, of course, control for variables. Statistics are useful to generalize to the group. The results of our analyses which are in the form of descriptive evidence deal with general principles and individual variations. As Schutz states:

> whenever the problem under inquiry makes it necessary the social scientist must have the possibility of shifting the level of his research to that of individual human activity, and where real scientific work is done this shifting is always possible.
>
> (1964:84)

When this shift to the individual cannot be made, distorsion of interaction takes place. It is in the rich and unique nature of individual interaction that we discover *how* individuals make sense of the social world and each other. Without acknowledging the interaction of language and context, meaning is lost.

Theories and models serve many purposes in the social sciences. They organize knowledge, predict future behaviours, explicate causal factors, etc. The theory of interlanguage (which explains errors as negative hypotheses for which students receive feedback) endeavours to explain the causes of errors and to predict the stages of mastery of language. Our concerns with this theory are several. Firstly, we have found that there is no cause for error in the scientific sense of cause and effect. Error, or as we prefer trouble source, is part of the hazard of speaking. To categorize "causes" such as oversimplification, language transfer, etc. requires that the researcher extrapolate without recourse to data *in context*. Secondly, the constitutive view of language emphasizes meaning as context-dependent and not amenable to codification. It is difficult to understand how errors can "stand" for a level of language proficiency. Selinker (1972) acknowledges that errors recur.

In the place of theories and models, we would propose conceptual and analytic claims such as Sacks et al (1974) do in turn-taking. This claim allows us to discover transcontextual features of language. At the same time we can study how turn-taking is accomplished in different contexts and how it defines contexts. For example, turn-taking in the Oral Test, although pre-allocated, was open to negotiation and re-negotiation with each student.

III. The Methodology of Conversational Analysis

In a recent article, Mehan (1978) highlights methodological features that distinguish constitutive studies from other research studies. He lists four aspects of their methodology," ...emphasis on the retrievability of data, exhaustiveness of data treatment, convergence between researchers' and participants' perspectives on events, and analysis at the interactional level" (1978:36). Since we have already stated that our data retrievable, we will concentrate on the last three features as the advantages of conversational analysis.

Exhaustive data treatment incorporates "the entire course of interaction among participants" (1978:37). Once this analysis is complete, the research has a "grammar which accounts for the structure of social events" (1978:37). The studies of Sacks et al. (1974, 1977) using conversational analysis have exhaustive data treatment as their goal. Their "grammar" of turn-taking (1974) and repair (1977) are now an integral part of conversational analysis. These "grammars" assist the researcher in discovering the structure for the social event under analysis. They also act as"... a necessary check against the tendency to seek only evidence that supports the researchers' orienting hypotheses or domains assumptions" (1978:37). We would cite the hypotheses of our pilot project, which did not withstand conversation analysis, as an example of the fallibility of the researcher. Mehan (1978) aims criticism at conventional research which does not include more than a few exemplary instances. Data should be available for disconfirming evidence or alternative interpretations. We suggest that the "good language learner" is one such study. Although bibliographic material is presented (and we are reminded of Moerman's criticisms of informant's abstracted norms), we have no data from classrooms, interviews, etc. Furthermore, there is no "grammar" which has been derived from the data. We cannot know what structures of social events might be transcontextual so that future studies can be undertaken.

The third feature is the attempt to obtain convergence between the researchers' and participants' perspectives. Ethnographers tend to test their models through "elicitation frames" (Mehan, 1978:38). However there is no assurance that the group members' orientation is the same as the researchers'. Mehan proposes that "[i]f the researcher's phenomenon is also the participant's phenomenon, the participants in an event must be oriented to its structural features during the course of the event" (1978:38). This convergence was obtained in the pilot study by replaying a portion of the dialogue to the participants. Their explication of the interaction was consonant with interpretation.

Finally, conversational analysis limits itself to interaction and its paralinguistic features. By operating under these constraints, researchers cannot make unfounded claims about the intentions, motivation, or the mental states of the participants.

IV. Implication for Second Language Education

The implications of this research for second language education address both the second language classroom and research. They encompass three general areas of activity: firstly, conversational analysis and participant structures in the classroom; secondly, testing procedures; and finally, a co-operative mode of research based on teacher and student participation.

The implications for conversation analysis in second language classrooms have been summarized by Daden (1975) who concludes that, "If training in linguistics is considered necessary for the teaching of grammar and phonology, training in conversational analysis should be considered necessary for the teaching of conversation in [second language]" (1975:118). We strongly support this position but would use our data to make the claim more substantial. In our experience, the participant structures of the second language classroom tend to be strongly teacher centered. In recent years, there has been a concerted effort to change this teaching style. Many of the articles and teaching materials stress "communication" as the panacea. Communication," in second language learning, has been unanalyzed as a concept, probably because it is a term everyone tacitly understands and knows. The focus of the writings has been on how to develop communication through topics, games, exercises, etc. If progress toward this goal has been slow (and it has) we contend that one of the principle reasons is that it is the teachers' right and responsibility to ensure the acquisition of correct French. Our data demonstrated clearly that students can and do correct. In fact, their corrections are more forceful, i.e. less modulated than the teachers'. Not only was this a revelation for Mrs. B. who transcribed the data, it provoked a revolution in her teaching style. She now uses small group work extensively in her calsses. She has delegated some of her rights and responsibilities to her students, confident that they are also working on correct French. We seriously doubt that listening to tapes would have brought about such a major change in participant structures. As Mrs. B. transcribed the tapes, she was obliged to attend in detail to the accomplishment of meaning and correct French. It is our opinion that conversational analysis will prove highly effective in the teaching of second language when teachers receive both instruction and practice in it. The use of recordings of student talk will benefit teachers in their on-going task of teaching in several ways. Firstly, they will maintain contact with student practices of correcting, question and answer sequences, etc. as well as with their problems of vocabulary and grammar. This will enable teachers to draw on student strengths as well as to assist them over problem areas. Our data showed that students relied on their knowledge of grammar rules *per se* to resolve trouble sources. This underlines the vital role of the teacher and the classroom work in second language acquisition.

Secondly, it has been our experience that people are rarely aware of *how* meaning and conversations are accomplished. Students do not realize that they bring to the classroom a wide range of finely honed skills. To foster and heighten this awareness we suggest that students be taught the principles of conversational analysis such as turn-taking, repair, formulating, etc. Exercises to practice and to observe these skills would be of benefit not only in learning a second language but in enhancing their native speaker skills.

Thirdly, the analyses of the test interaction is part of a growing body of knowledge about interaction during standardized tests (Mehan, 1973; Roth, 1974; Mackay, 1974, for example). It is vital that second language teachers become aware of the weaknesses of these tests as indicators of students' competence. The Oral Test purports to assess communicative competence, which is defined as "guiding interaction appropriately" (Cook-Gumperz, 1975). These students did just that, they produced short, accurate answers about bland pictures, sometimes with the assistance of the interviewer. Without a broader base of knowledge about other situations, their communicative competence cannot be *fairly* judged by these test scores. We would suggest, for example, that recordings of small group interaction, classroom lessons and casual conversation also form a part of on-going assessment throughout the course.

Finally, we would reiterate the strengths of conversation analysis to which Mehan (1978) has drawn attention. By studying social reality as the interactional level, the teachers, students, and researchers had a common phenomenon to study. This commonality gave the teacher, Mrs. B., the same access to the materials and ultimately the same interpretation as developed in the research. The student's reality became a part of her experience. From that knowledge to changing teaching style in the classroom was relatively straight-forward. Similarly, when the relevant segment of tape was played to the pilot project students, they produced their code of corrections. Had the questions been asked out of context, we argue that they would have been "abstracted norm[s] more of a puzzle than a solution" (Moerman, 1972).

V. Implications for Future Research

The research on error/repair is very recent and relatively untouched. Since Schegloff et al. published their study in 1977, to the best of our knowledge, there are only three studies using their data and analysis (Moerman, 1977; Schwartz, 1977; and Gaskill, 1977). Our study is the fourth. It becomes obvious that the problem in discussing future research is the plethora of possibilities which come to the researcher as analyses are progressing. We will limit our discussion to several rather obvious areas. Firstly, we have no knowledge of error/repair as a phenomenon at the various ages of language acquisition. A study of child first language learners would enlighten educators and researchers alike. A comparative study of first and second language learning could assist in the asnwer to the perennial second language dilemma: "what is the best age to start a second language?"

Secondly, it becomes readily apparent that students lack vocabulary in peer conversations. Their lexicon tends to be bookish and therefore inadequate to the task of "chatting." Daden (1975) has suggested that conversation analysis would contribute to text materials by adding the quality of every day language. We endorse her stand.

Thirdly, given the lively and unmodulated style of other-correction by students, we have to ask: what happens in the classroom? do bilingual teachers correct in the same manner? do students initiate self-repair? do students correct each other? As we have stated, there appear to be no interactional studies on error/repair in the second language classroom.

Finally, teachers are often exorted to understand their students better, to be more aware of the student's world. Our data opened some of this world to us with more force and vitality than numerous years of teaching experience.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Indexicality - This refers to the essential ambiguities of meaning which are determined by context. Simply put, indexicality refers to the context-dependency of meaning.

Member - The mastery of natural language which allows a person to participate in social rights and obligations and also to construct his own social reality.

Reflexivity - Context itself is indexical. A feature of any context is the production of accounts which take their meaning from the context. At the same time the context itself exists in and through the talk and behaviour.

Repair - The righting of a trouble source which the listener may or may not be aware of.

Trouble Source - An error or a breakdown in meaning during interaction.

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TRANSCRIPTION KEY

ah uh Euh em-em		signs of hesitation
ha ha ha	:	laughter
/	:	indicates that there is *no* pause between speakers (very nearly overlap)
[	:	indicates two speakers speaking at once
( )	:	unintelligible word(s)